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Stefan Tilg

Chariton of Aphrodisias
and the Invention of the
Greek Love Novel

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To Andrea
For those ideal days

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Preface

This book is the result of a research project which started with a related but different aim. Its working title was *Poetics in the Ancient Novel* and I intended to compensate for the lack of an explicit ancient theory on the Graeco-Roman novel by bringing to light its 'implied' poetics. This would proceed through a comprehensive analysis of literary self-references in the texts concerned. Over time, however, it turned out that my sweeping question was unproductive and that it could only be answered at a theoretical level which largely ignores our individual texts. Rather than finding a common rationale behind the ancient novels, I ended up with a different poetics for each author I investigated. But for some reason my analysis seemed to work particularly well with Chariton. I was long perplexed by the effort which this early author had apparently put into defining his work, especially given that his ways of self-definition often differed from those of other novelists. The idea of the present book was born when I looked more closely into questions of Chariton's date, and began to collect literary-historical evidence for his potential founding role in the tradition of the Greek novel. On the basis of this evidence, Chariton's particular effort of self-definition began to make sense. He did not seem to work in an established generic tradition and had to come to terms with a new form of writing himself. Indeed, a number of clues suggest that he was the first author ever to write an 'ideal' love novel, as scholarship has baptized the most prominent and best-known strain of Graeco-Roman prose fiction. My hypothesis of an individual inventor of the ideal novel opened up a new way of thinking about the formation of this genre, with a founding text at the start and a series of individual literary emulations and variations in its wake. In a way, then, this book has still something to say about the poetics of the ancient (ideal) novel, but from a diachronic and individual rather than a synchronic and abstract point of view. But the focus is now clearly on the point of departure, the single author without whom, I think, the genre would not exist. Thus, my study has developed into a reappraisal of the vexed question of the origin of

the ancient love novel, which has kept scholarship busy for centuries and for which no satisfying answer has been found to this day.

I extend my thanks to a number of institutions and persons. The Swiss National Science Foundation funded the greatest part of my research with its Fellowship for Advanced Researchers. This grant gave me the opportunity to plan and carry out my project as an academic visitor at Corpus Christi College, Oxford from late 2006 to early 2009. In between I sandwiched the fall semester of 2007, which I spent as a Junior Fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC. I feel privileged to have conducted my research in these stimulating institutions and places. I am also grateful for the continuous trust that I received while my project was undergoing a considerable transformation from the initial idea to the final result. My particular thanks go to Ewen Bowie and Stephen Harrison, who introduced me to Oxford, as well as to Greg Nagy, Doug Frame, and all my colleagues at the Center for Hellenic Studies who made my stay in Washington a memorable experience. Regarding my book itself, the persons most deserving of acknowledgement are those who read it in manuscript form and helped improve it a great deal with their comments and suggestions: Martin Korenjak, scrupulous and competent on any given subject; Ewen Bowie, whose work on the Greek novel had a clear influence on mine; Tim Whitmarsh, generous enough to oblige even though his own approach is a different one; last but not least the anonymous referees of Oxford University Press, who recommended the manuscript for publication and contributed numerous acute observations. I fruitfully discussed aspects of my work with many more persons, from whom I would like to single out Werner Riess, Alexander Herda, Marco Fantuzzi, Florian Schaffenrath, Yvona Trnka-Amrhein, and Anna Lefteratou. This book could have been much more elegant—and much less read—if I had written it in my mother tongue, German. Under ‘normal’ circumstances I would probably have chosen elegance over circulation, but since I pursued the whole project in the Anglo-Saxon world I thought I might give it a try in English. Ewen Bowie and Emma Fawcett kindly revised my language and corrected the most serious mistakes. Needless to say, any remaining shortcomings in form and content are my own responsibility.

Stefan Tilg

Zurich, June 2009

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Abbreviations

Journals are abbreviated as in *L'Année philologique*. Classical authors and texts are normally cited as in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (OCD). Abbreviations of novelists and novelistic texts not considered in OCD start my list below:

AT	Achilles Tatius
Ch.	Chariton
M&P	<i>Metiochus and Parthenope</i>
MSP	<i>Martyrdom of St Parthenope</i>
NAC	<i>Narratives about Callirhoe</i>
V&A	<i>Vāmiq and 'Adhrā</i>
XE	Xenophon of Ephesus
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. A. Boeckh <i>et al.</i> (Berlin, 1835).
DK	<i>Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz (Berlin, 1952 ⁶).
DNP	<i>Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> , ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider, 16 vols. (Stuttgart, 1996–2003).
FGrH	<i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby, 3 vols. (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58).
GGM	<i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> , ed. C. Müller, 2 vols. (Paris, 1855–61).
IAPH2007	<i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> , ed. J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, and G. Bodard, available < http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007 >.
LGPN	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , ed. P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, <i>et al.</i> (Oxford, 1986–).
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , ed. H. C. Ackermann and J.-R. Gisler, 9 vols. (Zurich, 1981–99).
LRG	<i>Lessico dei romanzieri greci</i> , ed. F. Conca, E. De Carli, G. Zanetto, and S. Beta, 4 vols. (Milan, 1983–97).

LSJ	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , ed. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones (Oxford, 1966 ⁹).
OCD	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, (Oxford, 2003 ³).
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III</i> , 1 edn. by E. Klebs and H. Dessau (Berlin, 1897–8); 2 nd edn. by E. Groag, A. Stein, <i>et al.</i> (Berlin, 1933–).
PMG	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962).
P. Oxy.	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, <i>et al.</i> (Oxford, 1898–).
PSI	<i>Pubblicazioni della società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto</i> (Florence, 1912–).
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , ed. Th. Klauser <i>et al.</i> (Stuttgart, 1950–).
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, 83 vols. (Stuttgart, 1890–1980).
S&W	<i>Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments</i> , ed. S. A. Stephens and J. J. Winkler (Princeton, 1995).
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , var. eds. (Leiden, 1923–).
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> , var. eds. (Leipzig, 1900–).

NOTE TO THE READER

For the text of ancient novelists I rely on the editions of Reardon 2004*a* (Chariton), O'Sullivan 2005 (Xenophon of Ephesus), Garnaud 1991 (Achilles Tatius), Reeve 1982 (Longus), Rattenbury, Lumb, and Maillon 1960 (Heliodorus), Müller 1995 (Petronius), and Robertson and Vallette 1940–45 (Apuleius). English translations of the Greek novels are from Reardon 1989 (Reardon's Chariton, Anderson's Xenophon of Ephesus, Winkler's Achilles Tatius, Gill's Longus, Morgan's Heliodorus). Other translations usually come from the most recent Loeb editions. I have modified the translations only in the rare cases where they did not bring out a nuance present in the original text and significant to my argument. For the sake of formal consistency, I have altered American spellings in translations of classical texts to conform to British usage.

For word studies I consulted the *Lessico dei romanzieri greci* (LRG) by Conca, De Carli, Zanetto, and Beta; the *Lexicon Petronianum* by Segebade and Lommatzsch; and the *Index Apuleianus*, by Oldfather, Canter, and Perry. In addition, I am indebted to the digital libraries of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae <<http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>>, the Packard Humanities Institute CD-ROM #5.3, accessed with the 'Diogenes' tool developed by P. J. Heslin <<http://www.dur.ac.uk/p.j.heslin/Software/Diogenes/>>, and the Perseus Project <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>>.

Introduction

In this book I present a new solution to the old problem of the origins of the Greek love novel. My thesis is that an individual author, Chariton of Aphrodisias, decisively shaped this form of writing and can be called its inventor. To argue for this thesis, I combine factors from history and literary history with a close reading of certain characteristics of Chariton's text which, in my view, are best explained as traces of a process of invention. This short summary raises the issues addressed in the following exposition.

1. WHAT DID CHARITON INVENT? THE 'IDEAL' LOVE NOVEL

I do not here provide an account of the larger field of ancient prose fiction, and I certainly do not venture the thesis that prose fiction was invented by one identifiable author. In a strict sense, I do not even account for the ancient novel *tout court*. I restrict my investigation to the so called 'ideal' love novel, which in the course of this book I will also term 'ideal novel', 'love novel', or simply 'romance'. My definition of the ideal love novel is this: at its heart we find a boy-girl romance, private interests, and the noble sentiments of its protagonists; in terms of plot, typical characteristics are the falling in love of the young couple, their ensuing separation, their respective adventures, and their final reunion in a happy ending. Moreover, it comes with the idea of a novel that the story is told as an extended piece of prose fiction which constitutes a work of its own (and not just a part of

another narrative). This definition is based on the ‘big five’, our corpus of five fully extant ideal love novels: Chariton’s *Narratives about Callirhoe*—I argue for this form of the title in chapter six—, Xenophon’s *Ephesiaca*, Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*, and Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*.¹ Longus deviates from the essential plot outlined above in so far as love in his story gradually evolves and the lovers do not experience a series of adventures in separation from each other. Even so, the other criteria apply, which seems enough to identify *Daphnis and Chloe* as an ideal love novel.

Now, if I only considered these fully extant texts, my thesis would be pushing at an open door since most scholars believe that *NAC* is the earliest novel among the big five. When we talk about the ideal love novel as a genre, however, we include a number of fragmentary texts² that seem to fit the aforementioned characteristics and point to a larger tradition—whose start is usually located earlier than Chariton. The titles of these fragmentary ideal novels are assigned by modern scholars and usually taken from the names of the protagonist(s). Some examples are *Metiochus and Parthenope*, *Chione*, *Calligone*, *Anthia*, or the most recently (2007) published text, *Panionis* (*P. Oxy.* 4811). Fragments of the type of *Ninus* and *Sesonchosis* break away from a strict definition of the ideal love novel in that they make historical rulers their protagonists and apparently contain a larger share of public affairs than is the case in our extant examples. Still, the private interest is there and conforms to the pattern of the novels referred to above. More than that, it could be argued that *Ninus* and *Sesonchosis* deviate no more from a generic idea of the ideal love novel than does *Daphnis and Chloe*. I therefore include them in my definition.

A large number of prose fictions can easily be ruled out for my purposes: historiographical writing like Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*, the *Alexander Romance*, or the *Troy Romances* by Dictys and Dares; biographies like the *Life of Aesop*; Jewish and Christian narrative

¹ Apart from my suggestion for Chariton’s novel, I use the traditional forms of title. I am not convinced by Tim Whitmarsh’s argument for a uniform, generic title of the ideal novels according to the pattern τὰ περὶ or τὰ κατὰ + girl’s (or girl’s and boy’s) name, cf. Whitmarsh 2005.

² The standard collection of fragmentary ancient Greek novels is Stephens and Winkler (S&W).

with its transcendental concern—essentially all the texts that have often been subsumed under the heading of 'fringe novels'.³ This is not to say that these texts are less important or that they do not share any characteristics with the ideal love novels. They are just too different to fall within the category described above, or indeed to be considered 'novels' at all.

A sizeable grey area of 'novels proper', just not quite 'ideal love novels', remains. Antonius Diogenes' *The Incredible Things beyond Thule* and the anonymous *Apollonius of Tyre* have romantic elements, but are not love stories. Iamblichus' *Babyloniaca* is a love story, but its over-the-top plot reduces its 'ideality'. Finally, there are a number of Greek and Latin novelistic texts that are not 'ideal' at all but characterized by low-life 'realism' and bawdy eroticism (in fact, the 'realism' of those novels is just as unrealistic as the 'ideality' of the ideal novels, but this is another problem). Examples include Lollianus' *Phoenicica*, the apparently very popular 'Ass story'—full versions of which survive in Ps.-Lucian's *Onos* and in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*—, or Petronius' *Satyrica*. All these works belong in the class of texts that we usually call the ancient novel.

Whether Chariton can be regarded not only as the inventor of the ideal love novel but of the ancient novel in general depends on how willing we are to see authors like Iamblichus, Antonius, or Petronius as relying on or reacting against the ideal love novel. The question is, in other words, whether a) the ancient novel started with the ideal love novel or b) other strains of novelistic writing rose prior to it. If a) is true, we could in actual fact proclaim Chariton as the inventor of the ancient novel, at least from the bird's-eye view of a modern literary critic. Chariton himself might not have been pleased with the later 'un-ideal' subversions of his model. If b) is true, Chariton would be 'just' the inventor of the ideal love novel, which is all I argue for in this book. Perhaps the issue is most pressing in the case of our earliest document of the 'realistic' ancient novel, Petronius' Latin *Satyrica*, and a potentially preceding tradition of similar Greek prose fiction. While a work like Iamblichus' *Babyloniaca* despite its wild extravagance adheres to what seems to be the basic pattern of an ideal love story, Petronius' *Satyrica* is so different in plot and characters that it could only be a creative parody

³ Cf. e.g. Holzberg 1996.

of this *and simultaneously* a number of other forms of writing. This is what Richard Heinze suggested and what many scholars, with various modifications, believe today.⁴ However, the possibility of a preceding tradition of Greek low-life novels which rose independently of the ideal novel can hardly be excluded. Our major clues to this tradition are on the one hand the surmised novelistic character of ‘realistic’ Greek prose fictions before Petronius (who probably wrote under Nero), such as the *Milesiaca* (c.100 BC) and *Sybaritica* (late first century BC);⁵ on the other hand the emergence of Greek fragments that postdate Petronius, but are clearly ‘realistic’ as opposed to ‘ideal’, such as Lollianus’ *Phoenicica* or the anonymous *Iolaus*.⁶ My thesis is relevant to this discussion: if I am right, and if Petronius’ conventional date is correct, Chariton would be the only ideal novelist to predate Petronius. Any argument about Petronius’ parody of *the* ideal love novel as a genre would have to be adapted to an argument about a parody of Chariton in particular—which might, in turn, discourage scholars from this path and give more credit to the idea of an independent rise of the realistic novel. Nonetheless I also argue that Chariton wrote more than one novel—thus creating some ‘genericness’ by himself—and that he was well known in Nero’s Rome, which could again be used in support of the idea of a parody by Petronius. Readers may forgive me, however, for not weighing into this discussion. If I made a serious attempt to do so, I would have to write another book, and while it may be interesting to know just how far the consequences of Chariton’s invention go, any result would be irrelevant to my narrower thesis. Either way, Chariton would remain the inventor of the ideal love novel.

2. ORIGIN AND INVENTION: THE RELEVANCE OF ABANDONED QUESTIONS

The origin of the Greek love novel easily poses the single most important question ever asked in the history of scholarship on the ancient novel. In recent research many scholars have deemed it

⁴ Cf. Heinze 1899; recently e.g. Conte 1996, esp. 28–35; Courtney 2001, 24–31.

⁵ Cf. e.g. Bürger 1892a; Jensson 2004; here below, ch. 2, 33–6 and ch. 4, 146–55.

⁶ Cf. e.g. Parsons 1971; Barchiesi 2006.

insoluble and therefore turned their attention to other issues.⁷ At the same time, however, few would deny the significance of the question of origins given that a fresh approach could shed more light on it. The two most influential modern books on the love novel, Rohde's *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (1876) and Perry's *The Ancient Romances: A Literary-Historical Account of their Origins* (1967), are dedicated to revealing the origins of the genre. It has rarely been noted that both Rohde and Perry connect the question of origins with the idea of a personal inventor. While this idea is a centrepiece of Perry's account, its presence in Rohde often escapes scholars because of the casual manner in which it is put forward. But Rohde appears to be the first modern scholar who expressed the idea of an inventor.⁸ In his view, the inventor of the Greek novel—probably a rhetor, perhaps as early as the first century BC—created what was to become a genre by writing a first authoritative text which set the example for the imitations and variations of later authors.⁹ This is, in principle, not far from my idea of Chariton's invention and the subsequent building of a genre on the pattern provided by him. Rohde's remarks on invention, however, were far outbalanced by his interest in the literary sources of the genre. Perry took issue with this. He ignored Rohde's inventor and played the question of literary sources off against his own idea of invention.¹⁰ Perry criticizes the notion, suggested by the total balance of Rohde's account, that predecessor genres somehow 'evolved' into the Greek novel. In his—seemingly—alternative account Perry stresses the significance of the creative act of a personal inventor. The provocative sentence in which this idea culminates is very likely to be the most popular quotation in modern scholarship on the ancient novel:

The first romance was deliberately planned and written by an individual author, its inventor. He conceived it on a Tuesday afternoon in July, or some other day or month of the year. (175)

⁷ Cf. e.g. Bowie and Harrison 1993, 173.

⁸ As to earlier periods, cf. the Byzantine patriarch Photius (ninth century AD) who refers to Antonius Diogenes as 'the father of this kind of fiction' (*Bibl.* 166.112a 1–2: ὁ τῶν τηλικούτων πλασμάτων πατήρ).

⁹ Cf. Rohde 1914³ (1876), 263–4 and 379.

¹⁰ It should be noted that Perry not only overlooks Rohde's idea of an inventor but also that of Bethe 1924–8, 348–9, much closer to his own.

However, the rarely quoted following sentences show that Perry's idea of invention is a double-edged sword. We read that the first novel is in fact the product of a collective *Weltanschauung* of the Hellenistic period, Perry's chronological paradigm as opposed to the imperial time favoured by Rohde:

It [sc. the novel] did not come into being by a process of development on the literary plane. What had really developed was the complex cultural outlook, the *Weltanschauung*, of society as a whole in the Alexandrian age, in contrast to what it had been in the age of Pericles (175–6).

Perry's championing of individual creativity is undermined by his belief that the inventor did nothing but answer to a particular state and a particular need of society at large. All things considered, Perry's inventor is relegated to a function of what he refers to as 'the spirit of Hellenistic man' (48). And Perry is decisive as to how 'Hellenistic man' felt: lonely, unhappy, and longing for spiritual redemption. This epochal mental disorder of Hellenism would have led on to the invention of the novel as a consolation for the 'poor-in-spirit' (vii), among them prominently women and children.

No serious scholar today supports the sociological part of Perry's argument. We have come to learn that Hellenistic culture was by no means a valley of tears but a complex, diverse, pragmatic, and overall progressive period. The same goes for the early imperial period, in which our extant novels were written.¹¹ The readers of the Greek novels, even the early ones, were most probably not simpletons but educated people who switched from Homer and Thucydides to the novels and back.¹² Perry does not begin to bring any evidence for the pessimism of the Hellenistic period claimed by him; rather, all his related ideas seem to be extrapolations from preconceived readings of the novels themselves. With hindsight, Perry's dark Romanticism appears to be a variety of a broader sociological counter-movement against Rohde: Perry acknowledges his debt to the previous studies of Bruno Lavagnini (1921) and Jaroslav Ludvíkovský (1925), who turned against Rohde's hardheaded literary criticism and traced the origin of the ideal novels back to the conditions of popular and mass

¹¹ Cf. for the second century AD e.g. Swain 1996, 106–9.

¹² Cf. e.g. Bowie 1994*b* and 1996; Stephens 1994.

culture respectively.¹³ This counter-movement had a long-lasting influence on scholarship, not least because of Bryan Reardon's propagation of and expansion on Perry's thesis.¹⁴ But in the last fifteen years or so it has run aground due to our reassessments of Hellenistic culture and the chronology of the ideal novels (on which I say more below).

Still, the idea of an inventor of the ideal novel is not a bad one, provided we do not demote this inventor to an abstract function of abstract literary or cultural evolutions. Someone hits at some point upon a successful formula and that is the invention. Others build on that model and that is the genre. There is hardly a more economical and natural way of thinking about the origins of a literary form. The main problem with Rohde's and Perry's suggestions of an inventor is that their first novelist remains a mere idea. They simply did not have any specific evidence at hand to put some flesh on it. My contention is that meanwhile enough clues have accumulated to resurrect the idea of an inventor of the love novel and work it out in specific terms.

To begin with, considerable progress has been made by Stephens and Winkler's revisitation of our fragmentary novels. Their chronological appraisal demonstrates that none of our papyri is earlier than the second half of the first century AD. The notion of a Hellenistic origin of the ideal novel therefore has little objective basis. It is true that the first century BC is, for reasons of transmission and preservation, not a good time for a literary papyrus to be found. According to Pack's catalogue, only 2.9% of all extant literary papyri are from the first century BC, compared to 11.2% from the first century AD and 35.1% from the second century AD.¹⁵ In other words, it is about four times more probable to find a literary papyrus from the first century AD, and about twelve times more probable to find one from the second century AD. Even so, a few novel papyri from the first century BC should have been found, if they existed; and surely quite a few from the first century AD.¹⁶ But in fact, the two papyri of *Ninus* are

¹³ Cf. Perry 1967, 32–43.

¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Reardon 1969 and 1991. Mild self-criticism can be found in Reardon 2004b, 183–4.

¹⁵ Cf. Pack 1965² and the statistics of Willis 1968.

¹⁶ Cf. the lists of papyri at S&W xiii and 480–1; additionally the database Mertens-Pack 3, online at <<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/index.htm>>. A cautious

our sole examples from the first century AD. If we include the pottery fragment of *M&P*, which has been dated to the first century AD by Guglielmo Cavallo,¹⁷ we are left with a total of three fragments from the first century AD. All the other fragments come from the second century AD or later. The scarce transmission of literary papyri from the first century BC does not detract from a basic conclusion: if we search for an inventor of the genre we should take a good look at our extant material rather than speculate with a Hellenistic author whose traces are completely lost. Indeed, Stephens and Winkler float some related ideas. In different places, they suggest that Chariton might have been the author of *Ninus*, or that the author of *Ninus* and Chariton were contemporaries; and that *Ninus* and *M&P* could have been contemporaneous works and perhaps the first Greek love novels ever.¹⁸

Further clues, from archaeology and epigraphy, point to Aphrodisias as the cradle of the early love novel.¹⁹ The excavations at Aphrodisias have unearthed a relief in the local basilica which depicts Ninus as a founding figure. This relief seems to clinch a connection of Aphrodisias with Ninus, which had already been suggested by the grammarian Stephanus of Byzantium. According to Stephanus, an earlier name of the city was 'Ninoe', which he himself derives from Ninus. Consequently, a number of scholars have been inclined to think that the author of *Ninus*, often regarded as our earliest fragment of the genre, was Aphrodisian.²⁰ More than that, Glen Bowersock has drawn attention to the fact that the name of Antonius Diogenes, another arguably early novelist, is on current evidence only paralleled in the epigraphy of Aphrodisias.²¹ Finally, there is the major cult of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, which, impressionistically at least—but, as I hope to show, not implausibly—seems to

addition comes out at 11 fragments of extant ideal novels, plus 12–15 of fragmentary ideal novels, depending on the attribution of some disputed parts. In this calculation I only consider clearly or very likely 'ideal' love novels and count pieces of the same papyrus rolls as one item: Ch.: 4, AT: 6, Heliod.: 1; *Anthia*: 1; *Calligone*: 2; *Chione*: 1–2; *Herpyllis*: 1; *M&P*: 2–4; *Ninus*: 2; *Panionis*: 1; *Sesonchosis*: 2.

¹⁷ Cf. below, ch. 3, 93–4.

¹⁸ Cf. S&W 26–7 and 80–1.

¹⁹ For a more detailed account of the following cf. below, ch. 2, 24–36; ch. 3, 118–27.

²⁰ Cf. e.g. S&W 26–7; Bowie 1994b, 451.

²¹ Bowersock 1994, 38–9.

provide a congenial climate for the rise of a genre that revolves around love.²²

All this should be evidence enough to scrutinize closely the only novelist who is beyond reasonable doubt from Aphrodisias, Chariton. Even before and beside the recent findings, a number of scholars have suspected that Chariton—despite potentially earlier ideal novels—provided the decisive model for the further tradition of the genre. To Tadeusz Sinko, *NAC* was a storehouse of motifs for later novelists.²³ Bryan Reardon has, on the grounds of Chariton's impact, argued for his 'distinctive place in the early history of the genre'.²⁴ Recently, Reardon has credited Chariton outright with inventing the ideal novel—in a model, however, in which royal romance in the mould of *Ninus* precedes the ideal novel as we know it from our fully extant examples.²⁵ More boldly, Ewen Bowie's suggestion²⁶ that *Ninus* might in actual fact postdate Chariton's *NAC* opens the door to thinking uncompromisingly of Chariton as the inventor of Greek romance. It is time for a review of Chariton, his milieu, and his work in terms of invention, and this is what I would like to develop in this book.

3. INVENTION AND GENRE: SMALL NARRATIVES, GRAND NARRATIVES

My argument for a personal inventor of the ideal love novel entails a pragmatic idea of genre, similar to what Rohde had in mind but with more stress on individual creativity. My scenario in its most basic form is this: an author happens to create a first text with a set of characteristics that seem distinctive and attractive to other authors—or to the first author himself, provided he continues to write further works in a similar vein. Later authors create further texts with

²² Cf. Bowie 1994*b*, 451 with n. 72 (reference to a communication by Charlotte Roueché).

²³ Cf. Sinko 1905, esp. 88; id. 1940–6, *passim*; cf. the extensive list of parallels between Chariton and the other ideal novelists in Garin 1909, 423–37.

²⁴ Cf. Reardon 1996, 319–20.

²⁵ Cf. Reardon 2004*b*, 184: 'Chariton invented the Greek novel'.

²⁶ Cf. Bowie 2002, 55–6.

roughly the same set of characteristics and in this way the genre comes into being. As I see it, this model favours individual literary creativity, not only in the inventor, but also in his followers who create their own versions of the preceding model(s)—the later the writer the more models become available—by a process of emulation and variation. This concept provides a more analytical alternative to what I call the grand narratives about *the* ideal novel as a genre. The common thread running through these readings is that the genre is favoured over individual creativity and is accounted for by wide-ranging literary, cultural, or religious dynamics. I do not deal here with the religious approach, which attempts to uncover under the surface of novelistic texts a deep structure informed by oriental myth, ritual, and mystery. This way of reading our novels, most prominently represented by Karl Kerényi and Reinhold Merkelbach, is unanimously considered a dead end in scholarship, and I have nothing to say in its defence (although I think that especially Kerényi's book contains many acute literary observations, not necessarily tied to a religious reading).²⁷ As far as literary dynamics are concerned, I refer to all theories according to which *the* ideal novel 'grew out' of particular predecessor genres or a cross of them: Hellenistic poetry, rhetoric, historiography, drama, epic, virtually all major kinds of classical and Hellenistic Greek writing have been called upon as the origin of *the* ideal novel, not to speak of the various suggestions as to its roots in Oriental or Egyptian folklore.²⁸ Since Mikhail Bakhtin has recently found many followers in classics, I also recall his idea of a battle of genres in which the 'dialogic' novel—characterized by the constant negotiation of a multitude of different narrative voices and world views—prevails by some teleological masterplan, whereas the 'monologic' love novel is considered a rather embarrassing failure on the road to perfection.²⁹ As to cultural dynamics, the historically most influential grand narrative, Perry's

²⁷ Cf. Kerényi 1927; Merkelbach 1962.

²⁸ A summary of these outdated discussions would be pointless here; cf. the assorted surveys of the history of scholarship on the ancient novel, e.g. Bowie and Harrison 1993; Swain 1999.

²⁹ Bakhtin's major contributions on the ancient novel can be found in Holquist 1981.

and Reardon's account of *the* early love novel as an expression of a Hellenistic state of mind, has now collapsed. After the redating of our early fragments to the imperial period, the thesis of Hellenistic origins has partly been replaced by new grand narratives about *the* ideal novel as a product of Greek sentiment under the conditions of the Roman Empire. David Konstan has argued that the characteristic 'sexual symmetry' of the genre optimistically reflects the increasing internationalization of Greek cities, which offered a way of conceiving of marriage as independent of patriarchal and civic interests.³⁰ Others authors see exactly such civic interests at work behind the love novels: Kate Cooper regards them as an encouragement to fertility and marriage, comparable to Augustan marriage legislation in the Latin West, and ultimately meant to maintain stability in the empire.³¹ Simon Swain takes a more antagonistic view in which the genre of the ideal novel not only does not make reference to the Roman Empire, but is an emphatic projection of a 'world without Rome': it serves as an expression of the cultural hegemony of Greek civic elites, and particularly celebrates the perpetuation of their families by the staging of all-Greek marriages.³² Recently, Sophie Lalanne has followed this avenue and added the idea that the novelistic plot preceding the final reunion of the lovers can be read as an equally elite-building rite of passage of the young civic heroes.³³

My view is that *the* ideal novel was neither the result of any generic evolutions and struggles, nor of any comprehensive cultural needs. If an individual author—who I think was Chariton—had not invented the form of writing that was to become the ideal novel, no one would have known of it or missed it. The only reason why we can speak of a genre at all is that a number of later individual writers created their own adaptations of the model provided by the inventor. Clearly, some general conditions of literature and culture had to be met to make all this possible, such as a certain evolution and appreciation of prose fiction and a certain 'globalization' of the Mediterranean World. But the act of invention was tied to individual literary-

³⁰ Cf. Konstan 1994, esp. 224–31.

³¹ Cf. Cooper 1996, esp. 20–44.

³² Cf. Swain 1996, 101–31.

³³ Cf. Lalanne 2006.

historical circumstances and personal imagination—after all, we are talking about a genre without institutional place or performative context. The ideal novel was an attractive literary form, but it did not scratch an itch, at least not a generic one. One could still say that the formula of the inventor responded to larger literary or cultural functions and was imitated precisely because it had struck that chord. But this would obscure the specific historical and literary context of each individual novel, and bring back a generic grand narrative by the back door. All our extant ideal novels are remarkably different in thrust and tone, and the common generic elements seem to be a springboard for individual variations rather than an affirmation of a common ‘message’: upon Chariton’s delicate historical novel follow Xenophon’s pulp fiction, Achilles’ mocking pastiche, Longus’ pastoral idyll, and Heliodorus’ hermeneutic epic.³⁴ There is no reason to assume that the fragmentary love novels were less individual. *Ninus*, for instance, adds the variety of royal romance. What we see here is a series of macrostructural *oppositiones in imitando*³⁵ rather than the mere repetition of a generic pattern. Lumping all these creations together into an abstract genre and making the latter a function of literature and society at large amounts to failing to take the ideal novels seriously and seems—if unintentionally—to perpetuate the low esteem in which they have been held for decades of scholarly research.

With my reading of *NAC* in terms of invention I suggest that the origin of the genre is best accounted for with a small narrative about a particular individual in a particular time and place. The idea of a personal inventor of a genre might at first sight seem too simple to be true. But we can often observe that particular strains in literary history are decisively shaped by an individual, whom we then call its ‘inventor’. To give just some examples from narrative literature, Chrétien de Troyes is generally considered the inventor of medieval Arthurian romance, Walter Scott the inventor of the historical novel, and Edgar Allen Poe the inventor of the detective genre. There is

³⁴ Cf. Hägg 2002*b*, 5–7; already Calderini 1913, 191 was intrigued by the fact that each ideal novel seemed so different from its predecessor(s) in the genre.

³⁵ The term was coined by Kuiper 1896, 114 for a poetic phrase of Hesiod in allusion to Homer. I extend its use to the level of genre: the imitation refers to the generic formula, the opposition lies in the individual variation.

nothing inherently simplistic in the idea of a personal inventor of the Greek love novel. And surely it is easier to grasp than the vague notions of either quasi-metaphysical movements of genres or eruptions of a collective zeitgeist into a literary form. It should be clear from my preceding considerations that I do not advocate a model in which later authors and their individual variations pale in significance compared with the inventor and his archetypical work(s). Chariton did not invent, for instance, Achilles' mocking mixture of ideal and realistic novelistic strains, or Longus' pastoral romance. Strictly speaking, Chariton did not invent the genre at all but just provided a model for later writers. It was only their creative variations and adaptations that made and enriched the genre. In order to do so, however, they had to build on a specific tradition which ultimately goes back, I think, to one authoritative writer.

Such a 'monogenetic' idea of origin has recently been challenged by Tomas Hägg's 'polygenetic' model of the origins of the Greek novel.³⁶ Hägg's analysis is particularly relevant here since it takes its start from a similar observation about the differences among the seemingly uniform ideal novels, but comes to quite divergent conclusions. This is not least due to Hägg's all-inclusive idea of *the* 'Greek novel'. He argues for a process of consolidation in which a variety of different novelistic forms gradually converged towards the 'Greek novel', a term which here comprises much more than the ideal novel. While Hägg sets out from a discussion of the ideal novels, he goes on to include virtually all species of Greek prose fiction—excluded in this book—to debunk the notion of a novelistic archetype on which all following works depend. The plausibility of this unwieldy concept of the 'Greek novel' (which in fact equals Greek prose fiction), is of course questionable, but I do not think that many scholars would entertain it in the first place. Few, and certainly not I, would dispute a polygenetic origin of Greek prose fiction. But the ideal novel is a comparatively well-defined case of its own: with all its different manifestations it still shares a remarkable set of characteristics which I have described at the beginning of this chapter. I cannot believe that extended boy-girl romances in prose, focussed on private interests and noble sentiments, played out in a series of adventures

³⁶ Cf. Hägg 2002b.

(usually filling the period between separation and reunion of the lovers), and leading on to a happy ending sprung up independently at different times and in different places of the Greek world—and I am not sure if Hägg would claim this. More than that, Hägg's idea of convergence does not explain how different strains of prose fiction would at some point have resulted in *the* ideal novel. The whole concept of generic convergence is mistaken, I think, because it seems to take for granted that a lazy modern handbook description of *the* Greek novel was a *telos* of ancient literary history—but this is a more general question. As far as the differences between the individual ideal novels are concerned, the idea of a multiple origin of the Greek love novel would seem to me very strained. Those differences are much better accounted for by the competition of later authors with the tradition of the genre, founded by a single model author.

4. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

My study combines two main lines of argument: on the one hand a literary-historical reassessment of Chariton and our earliest love novels, on the other hand a close reading of passages which seem to betray Chariton's 'poetics of invention'. The origin of this book lies in the second line of argument which I developed as an answer to some peculiar characteristics of Chariton's text. Only at a later point did I feel that my argument from poetics would not be convincing enough without some grounding in the 'harder' facts of history and literary history. The bulk of this discussion now frames my study of Chariton's poetics: it can be found in chapters two and three, which provide the general historical context to my account, as well as in chapter eight, which embeds the findings of chapter seven into a larger literary-historical field. A strict separation of the two lines of argument, however, was never intended and would not gain anything.

My literary-historical approach is not in need of a particular methodological justification. I attempt to make the most of the different perspectives that classics provides and bring together the evidence of archaeology, epigraphy, ancient history, and literary criticism. The picture of Chariton and his milieu that emerges

from this appraisal is hopefully more specific and more complete than any other study before and shores up my reading of *NAC* as a founding text. Since there is not much we can know with certainty about Chariton, the process of investigation is often characterized by heuristically narrowing down different suggestions and considerations to the most probable ones. To this end, I have applied the—somewhat homespun, but nonetheless useful—rule that an idea should then be accepted as a working hypothesis if it is a) sound in itself and in a larger context, and if there is b) no equivalent or better alternative option available.

Perhaps a little more should be said on my approach to Chariton's 'poetics of invention'. Here my analysis is largely based on self-references in the text of *NAC*, that is passages that either openly comment on the text or imply a reference to its literary rationale in addition and beyond references to the plot. In the case of poetry, the consideration of self-references as a means to come to grips with the poetics of a work has a long tradition. Scholars may call them, in various languages, 'metapoetics', 'Poetologie', or 'métapoésie'. Applying self-referential readings to prose, especially ancient prose, is less usual, and for this reason it is not easy to find an agreed name for prosaic 'metapoetics'. I could stick with 'metapoetics', as scholars speak of the poetics of prose genres (especially fictional ones) in very much the same way as they speak of the poetics of poetry. But the most common—if not most specific—term seems to be the adjective 'metaliterary' which I often use in this book. An alternative term would be 'metanarrative', but this is more likely to suggest ideas of postmodernist playfulness or sophistic display. Those are forms of self-reference that I do *not* claim for Chariton. Self-references in Chariton, I think, are to a large degree not the result of a studied show, but of coming to terms with the poetics of a new literary form. In my reading of *NAC*, metaliterary terms, motifs, and statements are something 'good to think with' for the author—to borrow a phrase from anthropology—rather than signs of exuberant artistry.

At this point, a consideration of Stephen Nimis's concept of 'prosaics' is in order since my idea of Chariton's self-references seems to bear some resemblance to it.³⁷ Nimis combines—in another

³⁷ Cf. Nimis 1994.

grand narrative—two theories by other scholars to form his own account of the Greek love novels: the first theory, by Jeffrey Kittay and Wlad Godzich, seeks to explain the emergence of prose in the French middle ages.³⁸ Its basic tenet is that ‘prose’ should be seen as a new, non-performative signifying practice opposed to a preceding, ‘poetic’ signifying practice which revolves around a performer. To bring out the specific difference in the way that prose as opposed to poetry works, Kittay and Godzich coin the term ‘prosaics’ on the pattern of ‘poetics’. The second theory used by Nimis is Bakhtin’s well-known account of the novel—which here amounts to the same as ‘prose’ in an emphatic sense—as the ‘polyphonic’ and ‘dialogic’ form that takes on the ‘monologic’ forms of poetry. Nimis holds that the Greek love novels mark an advance of prosaic techniques which leaves the authors, severed from any performative context, with little to hold on to and forces them into finding their own way in the new, non-poetic form of fiction. The multiplication of discourses and ‘voices’ in the novel (Bakhtin’s *heteroglossia*) confronts the novelists with serious problems of negotiating and digesting their material. They continuously react to these problems rather than realize a fixed plan. The novelists plan as they go. Their texts are inherently unstable, unfinished, and processual. What look like statements of poetics are in fact ad hoc responses to the problems of the form and makeshift attempts to navigate through its openness.

As to the specific framework of the ‘prosaics’ of the Greek novel, there are leaps in its logic that I find hard to bridge: at the time of our ideal novels, prose narrative already had a long tradition in performative oratory as well as non-performative historiography, biography, and novella writing (on the assumption that works such as the *Milesiaca* were collections of novellas rather than outright novels). As far as prose and performance are concerned, it is therefore unclear why the ideal novelists should have laboured so hard. If it was because of the novelistic form that allegedly comes with the complications of Bakhtin’s *heteroglossia*, then it should be noted that Bakhtin neither claimed *heteroglossia* for the ideal novels, nor rambling authors for the ‘true’, polyphonic novels—nor for any literary work, for that matter. What remains is a general idea of creative crises as

³⁸ Cf. Kittay and Godzich 1987.

responses to problems of a literary form. It is levelled against a notion of 'poetics' as a comprehensive and detailed plan of the actual work which would be fully conceived before the author even takes his pen in hand. Few people, I think, would subscribe to this stark definition of 'poetics', which is why Nimis's insistence on opposing his concept of 'prosaics' seems a bit like tilting at windmills and talking at cross purposes. To me, for one, poetics is not a preconceived blueprint of the final work but a set of guiding ideas that lies behind its creation and which may not be entirely worked out when an author starts to write. I have no difficulty imagining that ancient novelists—like any author—negotiated their poetics in the process of working. But this still means working on one's poetics rather than aimlessly wandering through the vast expanses of a supercharged idea of 'prose'. More than that, when it comes to a finished and even published literary work, the implication is that we have a revised and authorized text—and with that a final poetics as far as authorial intent is concerned. Alternatively, if we take Nimis's 'prosaics' to its extreme, we would have to believe that the author has in actual fact published a draft and is still in the dark as to what he was aiming at. Finally, it seems to me that creative crises and the corresponding work on one's poetics are possibilities inherent in all literature, not just prose forms. In fact, if readers take Nimis's book on the simile in the epic tradition in hand, they will find a neat 'prosaics' (*avant la lettre*) approach to Homer's *Iliad*.³⁹

When I suggest that Chariton's poetics reflects his coming to terms with a new form, I am not referring to any abstract idea of prose, but to the new form of the individual work that he was writing. I think that Chariton wrote *NAC* guided by essential ideas about his writing, his 'poetics'. If these ideas were not complete from the start, then they were complete at the end, and everything in-between may reflect Chariton's work on his literary rationale. Since I believe that coming to terms with a new form was a large part of this rationale, I address this share of it as Chariton's 'poetics of invention'. In a similar sense, I also speak of 'traces' of the process of invention that can be found in Chariton's text. I do not aim at completeness and only give examples of what I deem significant aspects of Chariton's poetics of invention.

³⁹ Cf. Nimis 1987, 23–95.

And while there are certainly elements of Chariton's poetics that go beyond invention, those are not a concern in my study.

I am aware that particular characteristics of a poetics do not unequivocally point to a particular historical position in a generic tradition. In other words, Chariton's 'poetics of invention' need not necessarily imply that he is in historical fact the inventor of the love novel. Alternatively, he might have been an innovator working with an already established tradition of the ideal novel. This possibility has been considered before. Wilhelm Schmid, to give an early example, suggested in his *RE* article on Chariton that the wedding of the romantic couple at the beginning of the story as well as the comparatively straightforward, un-episodic plot were innovations of the author who wanted to vary the old 'pathetischen Romantypus'—or what Schmid thought this would be.⁴⁰ More recently, John Morgan proposed that Callirhoe's child and her bigamous second marriage 'are best read as deliberate infringements of generic rules'.⁴¹ To Schmid and Morgan, Chariton seems too edgy to be just an 'ordinary' early romancer, but they do not think of him as the inventor of the genre. They prefer to construct a preceding tradition by projecting later plots and stereotypes of the Greek novel into a past before Chariton—for it is only later that we have evidence for more episodic plots, for ideal novels that do *not* begin with a wedding, or that do *not* feature a baby and a second marriage. Schmid's suggestion that there were more episodic ideal novels before Chariton lacks any evidence. The marriage of the romantic couple at the beginning may not conform to a modern, trivialized sense of how romance should work, but there is no reason whatsoever to believe that the earliest ideal novelists felt the same way. While a similar objection applies to Morgan's observations, the motifs of the second marriage and the baby seem striking enough to pay more attention to them. In my investigation, I provide two alternative—but not mutually exclusive—accounts of Callirhoe's second marriage and one alternative account of her baby. Both motifs, I think, are in actual fact indications that Chariton did *not* rely on a previous tradition of ideal novels but invented a new form.

⁴⁰ Cf. Schmid 1899, 2168.

⁴¹ Morgan 1993, 224; cf. id. 1995, 140–1; id. in Morgan and Harrison 2008, 226.

Still, if the total evidence of my argument from poetics proves inconclusive, I refer to my literary-historical discussion which underpins the former with a larger and perhaps more palpable context. What matters is that both lines of argument converge, and at the end of the day the likelihood of my thesis should be measured by the way these arguments work together. I am not going to produce a new papyrus, a secret diary of Chariton, or anything else that would settle the question with certainty. All I can hope for is finding the most *probable* interpretation of the evidence given by Chariton's poetics and his literary-historical circumstances. If a better case for an integrative picture of these bits and pieces can be made, I will not hesitate to change my mind.

5. THE COURSE OF THE INVESTIGATION

In chapter two, I establish the coordinates in space and time for my further discussion. First, I examine selected aspects of Chariton's home town, Aphrodisias, which might have been relevant to the invention of a new form of writing: the massive building programme in the city centre since Augustus, the local cult of Aphrodite, and various links to Miletus—which had a famed cult of Aphrodite itself and was known as the focal point of Aristides' *Milesiaca*, arguably a source of inspiration for Chariton's writing of prose fiction. After that, I undertake a detailed enquiry into Chariton's date. The most likely clues point to the Julio-Claudian era: Chariton's reliance on Virgil's *Aeneid*, for which I argue in detail in chapters seven and eight, provides the *terminus post quem* 19 BC, the year of Virgil's death. Persius' reference to one 'Callirhoe' in his first satire (1.134) seems to take the existence of Chariton's novel for granted, which gives us the *terminus ante quem* AD 62, the year of Persius' death. This time frame coincides with the period of a spectacular rise of the city of Aphrodisias. It also meshes with a potential identification of Chariton's employer in Aphrodisian epigraphy. Together with some minor clues, a date for Chariton during the principate of Claudius seems our best guess. An excursus on Chariton's potential impact on non-novelistic authors concludes this biographical examination.

My third chapter broadens the literary-historical horizon: it investigates the relation of Chariton to other early novels and novelists as far as date and authorship are concerned. I consider Chariton's most likely 'competitors' for the distinction of inventing the ideal novel. I briefly look at Xenophon of Ephesus, but dedicate the major part of my argument to the fragmentary novels *M&P* and *Ninus*—the only novels of which we have fragments from as early as the first century AD. Because of parallels in plot, characters, and style, I conclude that Chariton himself should be identified as the author of *M&P*. Incidentally, I suggest that Chariton is also the author of *Chione*. *Ninus* is different in a number of respects and was probably not written by Chariton. The claim of Aphrodisias to *Ninus* as its founding father, however, points to an Aphrodisian author. I argue for loose correspondences between *Ninus* and contemporaneous events around Nero, and so arrive at a relatively late date for *Ninus*, in the second half of the 60s AD. This strong scenario, which I prefer to others, would unambiguously make Chariton the inventor of the ideal novel. But even with an earlier date for *Ninus*, Chariton would have been the inventor of the ultimately successful formula for the genre. A noteworthy byproduct of my analysis, which I follow up in two excursuses, is the conclusion that Aphrodisias was the centre of early Greek novel writing: apart from Chariton, the author of *Ninus* as well as Antonius Diogenes seem to have been Aphrodisians.

Chapter four introduces Chariton's 'novel poetics' with a re-examination of remarkable characteristics that have been singled out for one reason or another before. My re-readings comprise Chariton's general penchant for authorial intrusions—which points to a concern with self-definition; his allusion to Aristotle's *Poetics* at the beginning of the last book (8.1.4)—which inaugurates the invention of the happy ending and a new poetics of 'tragicomedy'; the guidance of his readers through theatrical devices—most useful in a new form of literature; his quotations from Homer—indicative of an apparent intent to become a new Homer in prose; the setting of his story in Miletus and the alleged origin of Callirhoe from Sybaris (e.g. 1.12.8)—potential allusions to preceding low-life strains of prose fiction, the *Milesiaca* and the *Sybaritica*; finally, his image of Athens—which sets the new form of romance apart from the old classical models, especially Thucydides. These readings lead on to my

study of more categorial and more implied constituents of Chariton's poetics of invention, which I conduct in the following chapters.

In each of chapters five and six I focus on one particular terminological characteristic. This involves a more extended discussion at a comparatively slower pace, but this is necessary since I cannot build on preceding studies here. Groundwork needs to be laid and a more systematic analysis to be performed. In chapter five, I examine the idea of novelty (*καινότης*) in Chariton. If it is true that Chariton was coming to terms with a new form of writing, we might expect him to have some metaliterary awareness of the category of novelty itself. I track this awareness in two ways. First, I present and interpret all passages in which Chariton explicitly claims to be doing something original. Second, I analyse all occurrences of the adjective *καινός*—which means 'new', but also 'original', 'novel'—and related terms in Chariton and other novelists. My result is that Chariton invokes the idea of *καινότης* particularly when he refers to something related to his invention: new motifs, new twists in the plot, new narratives. A comparison with the other authors of ideal novels demonstrates that they neither explicitly claim originality for their writing nor use the adjective *καινός* or similar terms of novelty as a fundamental and wide-ranging category of invention.

In my sixth chapter, I carry out a similar analysis of the term *διήγημα* ('narrative') and closely related words. If Chariton thinks of himself as a new kind of narrator, it seems promising to look for some categorial awareness of himself narrating narratives. As with the category of novelty, terms of narrating and especially the abstract noun *διήγημα* prove to be at the heart of Chariton's poetics. This is particularly interesting considering that most *διηγήματα* refer to Chariton's heroine, Callirhoe, and can be related not only to her fictional *persona*, but also to the work that bears her name, *Narratives about Callirhoe*. As regards the origin of Chariton's idea of *διηγήματα* the best leads point to non-novelistic texts, which fits in well with my view of Chariton as the inventor of a new form of writing. In fact, the only other texts in which *διηγήματα* are as frequently referred to as in Chariton are rhetorical *progymnasmata*, short exercises in prose composition that prepared students for speeches and, more generally, any kind of literary activity. In the *Progymnasmata* by Theon of

Alexandria we also find the idea that writing history consists in combining διηγήματα. Part of my argument is that Chariton was led by this basic sense of combining διηγήματα in writing his erotic history. Because of the significant role of διηγήματα in his poetics, he even adopted this category in the title of his novel, *Tà perì Kallirhōn διηγήματα* (*Narratives about Callirhoe*), as I suggest from the evidence of the manuscript and a papyrus fragment.

At this stage my main points about Chariton's invention of the Greek love novel are made. What follows accords with my thesis in many regards, but is not as closely bound up with it as the preceding discussion. However, my discussion of the motif of Rumour, laid out in chapter seven, is indispensable to my argument about Chariton's dependence on Virgil, put forward in chapter eight. And the latter not only establishes Chariton's *terminus post quem*, suggested in chapter two, but also introduces a new and potentially far-reaching category of invention in the shape of an unexpected model author. In my exploration of Rumour, I argue that appearances of Rumour—who almost exclusively refers to Callirhoe—are privileged places for metaliterary expressions. Rumour raises the fame of Callirhoe with internal audiences, but at the same time draws attention to *Narratives about Callirhoe*. Rumour is closely connected with the ideas of 'novelty' and 'narrative' and—given that this category derives from a recent non-novelistic model—may even in itself serve as another category of coming to terms with the new form. This is what I propose at the end of chapter seven and in transit to a more general consideration of Virgil's influence on Chariton: Chariton's frequent resort to Rumour and its employment in a love story are unparalleled in Greek literary history; the only real fit is a Roman model, Virgil's *Aeneid*. On the one hand, Virgil features an impressive ecphrasis of a maliciously gossiping *Fama* in his episode about Dido and Aeneas. On the other hand, he employs *Fama* throughout his epic as a neutral messenger of events, who often causes emotional reactions in internal audiences. On the grounds of functional and textual parallels, I conclude that Chariton borrows the motif of Rumour from Virgil and adapts it to his own needs.

I substantiate the claim that Chariton looked to Virgil in chapter eight. I split my case into a more literary and a more historical part. In the literary part, I add further parallels in phrases and motifs, and

point out how Chariton might have conceived of romance as an answer to Virgil's *Didotragödie*. In the historical part, I deal with the general question of the reception of Latin literature in Greek texts and argue for the likelihood that Virgil—in whatever form—was known by Chariton. This argument consists for one thing of a sketch of the excellent relations between Rome and Aphrodisias, for another thing of three scenarios that explain in which form Chariton would have got to know Virgil's text: in the Latin original, in a Greek translation, or by way of a pantomimic adaptation. As an afterthought, I discuss recent political interpretations of *NAC*, to which Chariton's adaptation of Virgil might be relevant. I contend, however, that we do more justice to his adaptation and to his work in general if we read it in terms of literary invention rather than political power.

Chariton of Aphrodisias

1. APHRODISIAS

The Carian city of Aphrodisias (modern day Geyre in Turkey) was a latecomer to the world of Greek *poleis*.¹ In the place of the future Aphrodisias, there was a much older cult site of a Carian goddess which later came to be identified with the Greek Aphrodite. But evidence for a city does not take us further back than the early second century BC. And in the first hundred years or so, Aphrodisias must have remained relatively insignificant. In fact, it did not act as a politically autonomous entity from the start but in a union with the neighbouring city of Plarasa. The emancipation from Plarasa came only in Augustan times. During the first Mithradatic War (89–85 BC), Aphrodisias-Plarasa emerged as an ally of Rome. Starting from a military partnership, a long-lasting relationship formed between the two cities, which was crucial for the further development of Aphrodisias. Aphrodisias proved its loyalty to Rome again in the wars against the Roman rebel Labienus in 39 BC, as a result of which Augustus granted the city political freedom and exemption from taxes. Scholarship generally agrees that the following *Pax Romana* was the precondition for the major construction and reconstruction programme that Aphrodisias saw from Augustus throughout the first century AD. This building programme gave the city its representative face. The whole city centre as we know it today dates from this period, including important buildings such as the theatre, the marble temple of Aphrodite, and the Sebasteion, the place of the imperial

¹ Cf. generally on Aphrodisias e.g. Reynolds 1982; Erim 1986; Ratté 2002; Chaniotis 2003*b*; Ratté 2006.

cult, on which I say more below and in chapter eight. It may generally be said that a young city like Aphrodisias was a place conducive to inventing a new form of writing, but this is of course a vague idea that needs to be borne out by more detailed evidence.

2. THE APHRODITE OF APHRODISIAS

The eponymous goddess of the city, the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, allows a more specific argument.² At the time of the foundation of Aphrodisias, the cult of the local Aphrodite was well established and widely renowned. The decision to name the city after this goddess was most probably made in order to capitalize on her celebrity. To Aphrodisians and the people they were in touch with, 'Aphrodisias' was not just a name, but a token of identity and authority.³ Surely the imperial period renewed the interest in the cult the local goddess. On the one hand, we can observe a general revival of local cults and traditions in Asia Minor in the first centuries AD, sometimes starting as early as the first century BC.⁴ On the other hand, if the identification of the Carian goddess with Aphrodite helped spread her fame in the Greek world, the association with Venus Genetrix, the mother of the Roman people, made her particularly attractive to the Romans and those who had dealings with them. This link, recognizable since Sulla, was especially promoted by Caesar and the Julio-Claudian family who claimed descent from Venus.⁵ The popularity of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias in the Roman empire is not least attested by the fact that representations of her cult image, mostly marble statuettes dating from the first century AD onwards, have been found throughout the Mediterranean. Considering the close ties between Rome and Aphrodisias, it should not surprise us that the largest group of finds outside Aphrodisias comes from Italy, especially

² Cf. on the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias esp. Brody 2007 (based on the PhD thesis Brody 1999 which sometimes has fuller discussions); furthermore e.g. Reynolds 1982; Erim 1986; Chaniotis 2003*b*.

³ Cf. Chaniotis 2003*b*, esp. 69–72 on the city name as a constituent of identity.

⁴ Cf. e.g. Held 2008, esp. 157–80.

⁵ Cf. below, ch. 8, 283–5.

Rome.⁶ Trade with Rome has been named as a factor in this focus, and in one specific area of trade in art a group of Aphrodisians connected with Rome seems palpable: a considerable number of Aphrodisian sculptors left their name together with the ethnic *Ἀφροδισιεύς* ('Aphrodisian') on Roman statues. The quality and quantity of those works has prompted modern scholarship to form the idea of a sculptural 'school of Aphrodisias',⁷ which operated from the first century BC until late antiquity. Some of these sculptors may have worked in Rome and brought statuettes of their local goddess with them. However, tourism to Aphrodisias and souvenirs from there as well as a general interest in the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias by Romans should also be taken into account.⁸ A more trivial but efficient means of branding the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias were Aphrodisian coins on which the goddess was frequently represented.⁹ In view of the wide-ranging local and international radiation of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, the idea that her cult, in one way or another, inspired Chariton's love novel suggests itself and has been expressed by various scholars.¹⁰ Whether the Aphrodisian cult of Aphrodite was the outright nucleus from which the first writer of a love novel took his cue, as Ewen Bowie suggests,¹¹ is a related but different question, and whether Chariton was this first novelist yet another. I hope to point out some indications in this direction.

I start with a precarious speculation on which I hang nothing but which seems worth venturing. It has to do with the nature of at least the early cult of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, who was—like her Mesopotamian counterpart Ishtar—worshipped as a goddess not

⁶ Cf. Brody 2007 for a detailed catalogue of the images found so far; for the distribution around the Mediterranean see *ibid.* 42–4 (43 map of find-spots) and Brody 1999, 139–60. This is a geographical breakdown of a total of 49 examples of marble sculptures (excluding one bronze statuette and three engraved gemstones): Aphrodisias: 18; Asia Minor (outside Aphrodisias): 3; Syria: 1; Greece: 1; Dalmatia: 1; North Africa: 1; Rome: 3 secure + 9 probable; Italy (outside Rome): 6; Iberia: 1; unknown provenance: 5.

⁷ Cf. Squarciapino 1943; Erim 1986, 133–51; Smith *et al.* 2006.

⁸ Cf. Brody 1999, 149–56.

⁹ Cf. MacDonald 1992, esp. 27–9; Brody 2007, 29–40.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Ruiz-Montero 1994a, 1007 and 1032–3; Bowersock 1994, 40; Reardon 1996, 328.

¹¹ Cf. Bowie 1994b, 451; Bowie 2002, 62.

only of love and fertility but also of war.¹² The military aspect of the goddess is obvious from the fact that Sulla in 89 or 88 BC offered a crown and an axe to her in the hope that she would bestow success on him in future battles (App. *B Civ.* 1.97). This role of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias is likely to have remained vital for the best part of the first century BC, during which Aphrodisian identity was largely formed by military achievements as an ally of Rome.¹³ It strikes me that the two elements, love and war, also inform the structure of Chariton's novel. *NAC* is essentially, of course, a love story, but its historical frame is determined by the victory of Syracuse over Athens, and most of books six to seven is dedicated to Chaereas' military campaigns. More than that, two other early novels for which I later suggest an Aphrodisian origin cast the male protagonist in the role of a war hero: this is evident in *Ninus* and can plausibly be argued for an episode of *Metiochus and Parthenope*.¹⁴ Should we see here a tribute to the Aphrodisian Aphrodite who presides over love and war? Or, which is similar, to the collective memory of the past wars fought by the Aphrodisians under her protection (which does not exclude literary inspirations, for instance from historiography and epic)? For what it is worth, later love novels do not give the male hero the role of a warrior but stage war only as a backdrop to the fate of the lovers.¹⁵ As to Aphrodite's actual role in *NAC*, however, there is little that indicates a martial side to her, unless we ascribe her reconciliation with Chaereas (8.3) to his preceding bravery in combat. But this nexus is not hinted at and constructing it might be a case of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*.

Other aspects of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias find a clearer manifestation in Chariton's text. In a number of contributions, Douglas Edwards has presented a political reading of *NAC*. According to Edwards, Chariton promotes Aphrodite not least in order to raise what we could call—slightly misusing Pierre Bourdieu—the 'symbolic capital' of Aphrodisias in a regional struggle for power

¹² Cf. Brody 1999, 41 and 78–9; Chaniotis 2003*b*, 69.

¹³ Cf. Chaniotis 2003*b*, esp. 74–7.

¹⁴ Cf. below, ch. 3, 97.

¹⁵ Cf. the material laid out in Hilton 2005; the exception that springs to mind is *Sesonchosis*, which I consider an imitation of *Ninus*. Cf. below, ch. 3, 83–4.

and acknowledgement.¹⁶ I think there is some truth to this view, but it overstates the case for NAC (or any ancient novel) as a representative form of writing. While the novelists surely took some inspiration from current affairs, it is difficult to argue that they worked to political rather than private interests. And although there is a grey area between these poles, we do not have any evidence that novels were ever used for political purposes. This does not exclude a sense of patriotism on Chariton's part. In particular, Chariton's link with the local cult seems to me reflected in the way that he stages Aphrodite—which is markedly different from the way that other novelists present their leading deities.

The peculiar cultic dimension of Chariton's Aphrodite has not been lost on scholarship. Michèle Biraud has drawn attention to the—in a pagan world striking—'monolatrous' relation of Callirhoe to Aphrodite; Tomas Hägg notes that Chariton is the only novelist who developed the commonplace of 'godlike' apparitions—which in NAC revolves around the image of Aphrodite—into a proper religious experience of epiphany.¹⁷ My own remarks pick up on Michael Alperowitz's observation that the sheer number and quality of 'Aphrodite passages' in Chariton sets him apart from the other novelists.¹⁸ As far as references by name are concerned, Chariton has more of them to Aphrodite than any other novelist to any other goddess or god.¹⁹ Regarding the quality of references, whenever Chariton speaks of Aphrodite, he has in mind a concrete personal image whose veneration is centred in local shrines. In the course of the novel we are presented with four such shrines: at Syracuse, near Miletus, in Aradus, and in Cyprus.²⁰ With the exception of the Babylonian intermezzo, in which Chaereas and Callirhoe *remember* the Syracusan shrine of Aphrodite (e.g. 4.4.9; 5.5.5; 5.5.7), the location of these

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. Edwards 1994; id. 1996; id. 1998.

¹⁷ Biraud 1996, e.g. 140; Hägg 2002a, e.g. 61.

¹⁸ Cf. Alperowitz 1992, 32–58, esp. 41–2.

¹⁹ Aphrodite: Ch.: 50; XE: 4; AT: 34; Longus: 3; Heliod.: 9. Cf. some figures for other prominent novelistic deities, e.g. Artemis: Ch.: 4; XE: 7; AT: 33; Longus: 0; Heliod.: 9.—Isis: Ch.: 0; XE: 9; AT: 2; Heliod.: 11.—Helios: Ch.: 2; XE: 5; AT: 4; Longus: 0; Heliod.: 18.

²⁰ Syracuse: e.g. 1.1.4 and 8.8.15; Miletus: e.g. 2.2.5; 3.2.12; Aradus: 7.5.1–2; Cyprus: 8.2.7–8; 8.4.10.

shrines coincides with the location of the major episodes of the plot.²¹

The Milesian shrine, on which I say more below, receives by far the most attention. There is a persistent focus on the shrine, its image of Aphrodite, and Callirhoe's perfect likeness to it—which culminates in setting up her statue beside the cult statue of the goddess (3.6.4 and 3.9.1). The conception of the statue of the goddess is so graphic and personal that Chariton pictures her reaction to the story that Callirhoe is telling Dionysius in the shrine: 'Aphrodite herself, you would have said, looked sadder' (2.5.7: *ἔδοξε δ' ἂν τις καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην αὐτὴν σκυθρωποτέραν γεγονέναι*). As far as I see, this is the only passage in the ideal novels in which the audience reaction of a deity is imagined. Add to this the intimate prayers of Callirhoe in the shrines of Miletus and Syracuse respectively.²² This vivid cultic dimension of Aphrodite goes with her role as the driving force of the story. And here again Chariton imagines her personally: Aphrodite 'negotiates' the marriage between Chaereas and Callirhoe (5.1.1: *πολιτευσαμένης Ἀφροδίτης*); her wrath and her pity lead to the decisive moments in the plot (8.1.3). It is true that the author credits Aphrodite with these crucial interventions only with hindsight, but precisely the strategic placement of his looking back, at the beginnings of the second half of the work and of the last book, underlines Aphrodite's significance in his metanarrative rationale: Chariton himself *explains* his story with Aphrodite's interventions.

The way in which Chariton focuses his attention on the patron deity of his city and pictures lifelike acts of individual cultic veneration does not find many parallels in the other writers of ideal novels. As far as vivid veneration is concerned, Longus' nymphs could be compared, but they are only part of a more complex hierarchy of gods, ruled by Eros who largely remains an abstract figure. Nor does it seem easy to establish any link between Longus' gods—which seem on the whole much more indebted to the literary and philosophical tradition—and a particular local cult. Xenophon of

²¹ Cf. Müller 1981, 398; Alperowitz 1992, 42.

²² Cf. esp. 3.8.5–9: Callirhoe thanks Aphrodite for her child; 8.8.15: Callirhoe's thanks for the happy ending and her hope for a similarly happy future.

Ephesus is interested in the veneration of deities in their respective shrines, but he divides his interest among three major goddesses and gods: Artemis at Ephesus, Helios in Rhodes, and Isis at Memphis.²³ Merkelbach argued that this plurality of deities is only on the surface of Xenophon's text and that the religious deep structure of the novel revolves around Isis only (with Artemis being a code name for Isis and Helios the addition of a later redactor). But even if this were true, any 'coded' representation of deities would differ from Chariton's straightforward portrait.²⁴ An internal crowd is amazed at the resemblance of Xenophon's heroine Anthia to Artemis (1.2.7), but this remains an isolated scene; it does not take place in a shrine and there are no images or statues involved. Achilles Tatius often refers to 'Aphrodite', but this is because he mostly uses the name of the goddess as a synonym for 'sex' or 'love'—unimaginable in Chariton, but current in all other Greek novelists.²⁵ In the last two books of Achilles' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, the shrine of Artemis at Ephesus is made the setting of the plot, but not a place of veneration and intimate prayer; nor is there any focus on the image of the goddess. Similarly, Heliodorus' Helios is related to the cult of Meroë, but overall conceived in sweeping cosmological rather than specific terms.²⁶

Reinhold Merkelbach and his student Remy Petri have argued that Chariton did not understand the cultic dimension of the ancient novel and that for this reason he must have written late, after Xenophon of Ephesus and Achilles Tatius, in the second half of the second century AD.²⁷ I suggest that if any love novel points to a

²³ Artemis: e.g. 1.5.1; 1.5.3–4; 5.12.2; Helios: 1.12.2; 5.10.6; 5.11.4–5; Isis: 4.1.3; 5.4.6.

²⁴ The 'Helios redaction' might be considered a separate issue; cf. for a refutation e.g. O'Sullivan 1995, 139–44.

²⁵ Cf. XE 1.9.9; AT e.g. 2.37–8 (6 times); Longus 3.13.3; Heliod. e.g. 1.17.2, 1.19.2, 10.9.1.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. the identification of Delphian Apollo and Aethiopian Helios in 10.36.3. As far as the fragmentary novels are concerned, Aphrodite is referred to only in *Mε&P* and *Ninus*. While the single reference in *Mε&P* does not contradict Chariton's personal image of the goddess, the two references of *Ninus* to Aphrodite as a synonym for 'love' do. Cf. below, ch. 3, 104–5 and 124–5.

²⁷ Cf. Merkelbach 1962, 339–40; Petri 1963. Clearly, Merkelbach and Petri referred to a hermetic deep structure rather than the plain veneration of deities in a cultic environment as I do.

specific cultic dimension then it is Chariton's, and that we may take this as one reason (among others) for placing him early, perhaps even for regarding him as the inventor of the genre. Alperowitz has proposed the second half of the first century BC as Chariton's date because he connected the exceptional role of Aphrodite in NAC with the promotion of the cult of Venus by Caesar and Augustus.²⁸ This link is worth considering since the Roman Venus in this period first assumed the 'Eastern' aspect of a warrior goddess (Venus Victrix). However, if anything, this provides no more than a tentative *terminus post quem*. The identification of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias with the Roman Venus took full effect only in the first century AD.

My point is not that Chariton was a devotee of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias—which he may or may not have been—or that there was no other possibility for Chariton to come to his vivid and personal representation of Aphrodite. Rather, I suggest that the Aphrodisian cult of Aphrodite is the most plausible and economic way to account for Chariton's remarkable picture of the goddess. Biraud has remarked that this picture is an innovation of the literary tradition.²⁹ Moreover, granted that there is a certain aretalogical element in the Greek love novels—as I think there is in all our extant authors except Achilles Tatius—, Aphrodite seems of all Greek deities the most suited to the new erotic form. Bearing this in mind, the idea that the Aphrodisian cult of Aphrodite was indeed a source of inspiration to the first writer of an ideal love novel makes sense, and the unique portrait of the goddess in Chariton can be read as a clue to his invention of the form.

I would like to round off my discussion of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias with a detail illustrating how Chariton could have been inspired by the symbolic presence of the goddess, here in the shape of her representation on coins. At the beginning of the last book of NAC, Aphrodite triumphs over Tyche (8.1.3) and introduces the happy ending. This motif is reminiscent of coins from Aphrodisias which show a Roman emperor on the obverse and a personification of the city of Aphrodisias in the guise of Tyche on the reverse.

²⁸ Alperowitz 1992, 153–4.

²⁹ Cf. Biraud 1996, e.g. 142–3.

Sometimes Aphrodisias-Tyche holds a cult statue of Aphrodite in her hand. In these coins, Tyche is obviously evoked as the *good* Fortune of Aphrodisias and its Aphrodite. But it is not hard to imagine how such representations could have influenced Chariton's idea of Aphrodite's taming of ill Fortune.³⁰ This may be considered even more likely given that other coins seem to have stimulated other novelists, too: the picture of Europa on the bull, which constitutes the initial scene of Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, recalls the same motif in the coinage of Sidon (where the narrative begins); a coin showing the emperor Caracalla as Triptolemus and 'father of the fatherland' (*pater patriae*) served as the model of a statue of the hero in *Apollonius of Tyre*; and if Witt's conjecture for a late date of Xenophon of Ephesus is right, the latter might have been inspired by coins showing Artemis and Isis, the main goddesses of the *Ephesiaca*, together.³¹

3. APHRODISIAS AND MILETUS: PARALLEL CULTS, CONTRASTING STORIES?

I have said above that of the four shrines of Aphrodite referred to by Chariton the Milesian one is the most important. To account for this fact, the geographical vicinity of Aphrodisias and Miletus is a natural guess. A number of scholars have put forward the idea that Chariton transferred the cult of his home town to Miletus.³² After all, unlike Miletus, Aphrodisias did not exist in the time in which the novel is set, and much as Chariton strains historical facts otherwise, the appearance of his home town in his story would have been too

³⁰ Cf. K. T. Erim in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1–2 s.v. Aphrodisias. The earliest known example dates probably to c.AD 54/55, cf. MacDonald 1992, 78. A striking literary parallel is Isis in control of Fortuna in the last book of Apuleius' *Golden Ass* (11.15); cf. the numerous images of Isis-Fortuna listed by T. T. Tinh in *LIMC* 5 (1990), 784–6 s.v. Isis, nos. 303–18.

³¹ AT 1.1.2–13; cf. e.g. *LIMC* 4 (1988), nos. 110 and 204; Lucian describes this motif on Sidonian coins at *De dea Syr.* 6. On the significance of Caracalla's coin to *Apollonius of Tyre* (ch. 10) cf. Kortekaas 2004, 68–72; for Xenophon cf. Witt 1971, 244; below, ch. 3, 90–2.

³² Cf. e.g. Jones 1992, 162–3; Ruiz Montero 1994a, 1033.

serious a breach of the historical illusion. Such a transfer of the cult of Aphrodite would have been all the easier considering that there was a significant cult of the goddess in Miletus, too. The existence of this cult has long been known from references in Theocritus (*Id.* 7.115–19 and 28.1–7) and the epigrammatist Posidippus (*Anth. Pal.* 12.131.1), but until recently its location was unclear. Only in 1989 was the shrine of the cult rediscovered in the small Milesian suburb of Oikous, perched on top of a hill above the city.³³ Chariton scholarship has so far taken little notice of this discovery³⁴ which, among other things, suggests that the novelist gives a fairly accurate description of the whereabouts.³⁵ The cult of Aphrodite in this place existed since the archaic period, is attested in Hellenistic times by the passages from Theocritus and Posidippus, and may still have been active in the first century AD—in fact, Chariton's description might be taken as indirect evidence of the ongoing veneration of Aphrodite at Miletus in the imperial period. While then it was clearly overshadowed by the Aphrodisian cult of Aphrodite, the Milesian sanctuary of the goddess had been one of the most important of antiquity and was crucial to Miletus and its identity.³⁶

Much has been speculated about the nature of the so-called *Milesian Tales* (*Μιλησιακά*) of Aristides (c.100 BC). Speculation is inevitable since virtually nothing of Aristides' text is transmitted and the ancient testimonies leave us with a tantalizingly ambiguous picture.³⁷ It is clear that his work told 'realistic' erotic tales in prose and that they were somehow related to Miletus. The structure of the narrative, however, has been a matter of dispute: the more conventional view is that the *Milesian Tales* was a collection of short and independent stories, perhaps connected by a rudimentary frame as, for instance, in

³³ Cf. on the shrine and its prominent location e.g. P. Herrmann in Graeve *et al.* 1995, 282–6; Ehrhardt 2003, esp. 271–80; Senff 2003; Greaves 2004.

³⁴ Ruiz Montero 1994a, 1028–9 writes that nothing is known about a shrine of Aphrodite at Miletus. Jones 1992, 163 acknowledges the existence of one or even more shrines, but is unsure about their location. Reardon 1996, 328 simply states that 'there was a local cult of Aphrodite, with a temple similar to that in which Dionysius first sees Callirhoe', without further references.

³⁵ Cf. Senff 2003, 12–13 with n. 11.

³⁶ Cf. Senff 2003, 11–12; Greaves 2004, 31.

³⁷ Schissel von Fleschenberg 1913 is the most systematic and detailed discussion of our evidence.

Boccaccio's *Decamerone*; but a number of scholars have argued that the work was more coherent and a direct precursor of the later 'realistic' Roman novels.³⁸ This is not the place to engage with this question. For my purposes, it only matters that the *Milesian Tales* was a work of low-life prose fiction that was well known in Chariton's time. And the popularity of the *Milesian Tales* in the early imperial period is beyond doubt thanks to references to it by authors such as Ovid and Plutarch.³⁹

Now, it seems to me that the *Milesian Tales* and *NAC* are related in one way or another. The first point I wish to make in this context is quite speculative but opens up a striking parallel reading. So far, scholarship has not considered a connection—if remote and maybe in irreverent terms—of the *Milesian Tales* with the Milesian cult of Aphrodite. This, however, would establish a parallel between the rise of low-life prose fiction at Miletus and of ideal prose fiction at Aphrodisias. A significant role of Aphrodite in the *Milesian Tales* could be inferred from the pseudo-Lucianic dialogue *Amores* ('Loves').⁴⁰ This work contains one of our main testimonies for the *Milesian Tales*, and the structure of its main part, a first-person recollection narrative, has been postulated for Aristides too.⁴¹ At the beginning of the *Amores* (1), the first interlocutor Lycinus compares himself to Aristides, who has been listening to the 'Milesian Tales' of the second interlocutor Theomnestus. Lycinus beseeches Theomnestus 'in the name of Aphrodite herself' (πρὸς αὐτῆς... Ἀφροδίτης) to continue his narratives. In his response (2), Theomnestus laments his erotic sufferings and the grudge that Aphrodite bears him (Ἀφροδίτης ὁ χόλος). Perhaps those are just phrases and perhaps they say nothing about the nature of the *Milesian Tales*. But if Aphrodite in actual fact pursued the heroes of Aristides' work, we would have a nice parallel with her role in Chariton. For not only is she omnipresent in *NAC*, her 'intense anger' (8.1.3: ὀργισθεῖσα καλεπῶς) is made responsible for the unfolding of the whole plot. It might be argued that the important cult of Aphrodite at Miletus

³⁸ Cf. Bürger 1892*a* whose views have partly been revived by Harrison 1998 and Jensson 2004.

³⁹ Cf. below, ch. 4, 151–2.

⁴⁰ Cf. Reitzenstein 1912, 64–6.

⁴¹ Cf. e.g. Jensson 2004, 263–6.

found an obscene reflection in Aristides' *Milesian Tales*, and that Chariton wanted to vindicate a serious cultic dimension in his ideal *Narratives about Callirhoe*.

Be that as it may, Chariton seems to be indebted to Aristides on the literary plane. A number of scholars have felt that Aristides' work is a missing link in our understanding of the ancient novel. Its potential influence on the realistic novels is easy to see, but there are elements in the ideal novels, too, that may be best explained by the model of the *Milesian Tales*.⁴² The most obvious point in *NAC* is the setting of its largest single episode in Miletus.⁴³ Ilaria Ramelli has argued that the locations of Chariton's novel follow the trajectory of the historical Hermocrates, who in 412 came to the relief of Miletus.⁴⁴ But Thucydides, who would be Chariton's source, only fleetingly refers to this event (8.26), and Hermocrates' association with Miletus remains weak. Nor would it exclude references to the Milesian cult or the *Milesian Tales*. Perhaps the common cult of Aphrodite was reason enough for Chariton to set the story of Callirhoe and Dionysius in Miletus. But given the notoriety of the *Milesian Tales*, an (additional) nod to his literary ancestor Aristides seems plausible enough. In fact, the ideas of parallel cults on the one hand and a literary competition with Aristides on the other are not mutually exclusive: the literary competition would have included a championing of the 'purer' Aphrodisian Aphrodite and an assertion of Aphrodisian identity.

Clearly, Chariton would have regarded Aristides as only one model among many, and his novel would overall have been more of a fresh start than a continuation of the form of the *Milesian Tales*. Chariton would have written not a parallel, but a contrasting work; or as Schmid and Goold put it, he would have 'reacted against' the *Milesian Tales*.⁴⁵ Most importantly, Chariton would have exchanged the bawdy eroticism of Aristides for ideal love. Aristides' model, however, seems to make itself felt in ironic references. When sailing to Miletus—and taking the literary work to this new location—the

⁴² Cf. e.g. Pepe 1959, 74–5; Ruiz Montero 1996a, 62–4; Benz 2001, 72–7. An outright generic transformation of realistic into ideal novels was suggested by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1893, ii, 31–2; cf. id. 1900, 8.

⁴³ Cf. e.g. Ruiz Montero 1996a, 64.

⁴⁴ Cf. Ramelli 2000, esp. 49–51.

⁴⁵ Cf. Schmid's appendix to Rohde 1914³ (1876), 605–6; Goold 1995, 9.

pirate Theron praises the decadent potential of Ionia, whose people are ‘soft’ or even ‘effeminate’ (1.11.7: ἀνθρώποι τρυφῶντες). And it is striking to me that Callirhoe—if unknowingly and unwillingly—upon her arrival at Miletus turns into an ‘adulterer’. Adultery stories seem to have had a particularly prominent place in the *Milesian Tales* and related low-life storytelling. Lore Benz has analysed the potential reception of such adultery stories in the novels of Xenophon, Achilles Tatius, and Longus, but she remains silent about Chariton.⁴⁶ I think this is unwarranted and that Benz was misled here by the ‘ideal’ twist that Chariton gives to his adultery story. I develop this point further in chapter four when I talk in greater detail about Chariton’s poetics. For the time being, we may draw a brief conclusion for our relative chronology and add it to the total evidence: a contrastive rewriting of Aristides befits the reinventor of erotic prose fiction—and with that the inventor of the ideal love novel—more than any other Greek novelist.

4. CHARITON’S DATE

As is well known, Chariton’s date has over time been subject to major revisions.⁴⁷ Erwin Rohde put him last in the series of ancient novelists, as late as the fifth or sixth century AD, but the subsequent papyrus finds from the second to third century AD made it clear that he must have written much earlier. The earliest papyrus fragment of NAC, Papyrus Michaelides 1, gives us a *terminus ante quem* of c. AD 150. To arrive at a more precise date, a number of criteria have been used: Chariton’s language; his historical outlook; his references to apparently contemporaneous material culture and institutions as well as to persons and events; his reception of recent literature and allusions to NAC in later authors.

⁴⁶ Cf. Benz 2001, 72–7.

⁴⁷ Cf. the surveys by Ruiz Montero 1994a, 1008–12; Reardon 1996, 312–25.

(i) Language

Chariton's language provides a rough chronological yardstick. Antonios Papanikolaou, who has written the first comprehensive linguistic study that meets modern standards, argues for a complete lack of Atticism in Chariton.⁴⁸ Consequently, he places him in the period right before Atticizing tendencies began to take hold, in the middle or second half of the first century BC. Papanikolaou's *terminus post quem*, on the other hand, is extra-linguistic, the reference to a Chinese bow and arrow in Ch. 6.4.2, which would not have been possible before the early first century BC when China became known to the Graeco-Roman world. However, Carlos Hernández Lara and Consuelo Ruiz Montero have shown that Papanikolaou's dating is most probably too early.⁴⁹ Hernández Lara revisits the question of Atticism and concludes that Chariton did not consistently eschew the new linguistic trend: 9.5% of his vocabulary must be deemed genuinely Atticist, and this varnish of Atticism brings him close to a number of writers of the first century AD. Ruiz Montero compares the vocabulary of Chariton with some potentially contemporaneous authors and finds the best matches in Plutarch (before AD 50–after AD 120), Josephus (born AD 37/8) and Philon (c.15 BC–c. AD 50); because of the use of some words otherwise only attested from the end of the first century AD onwards, she is inclined towards a date in the later first or early second century AD. None of these criteria can give more than an approximate idea of the period in which Chariton might have written since both Atticism and general vocabulary are dependent not only on time, but also on individual authors, styles, genres, levels of language, and perhaps even geographical location. More than that, it is precisely what Ruiz Montero calls Chariton's 'mixed language in which various levels of language are combined' that resists a more exact dating.⁵⁰ Linguistic research leaves us with a time frame from the late first century BC to the early second century AD.

⁴⁸ Cf. Papanikolaou 1973.

⁴⁹ Cf. Hernández Lara 1994; Ruiz Montero 1991a; Ruiz Montero 1994, 1045–8.

⁵⁰ Ruiz Montero 1991a, 489.

(ii) General historical outlook

Next to references to history. I do not dwell here on suggestions regarding the general historical outlook of *NAC*. This is just too subjective and elusive. To give but a few examples: Perry, on the grounds of a number of characteristics that add up to a 'classical style of composition', considers Chariton to have written in the early first century AD. Chariton's 'vigorous and healthy moral outlook on the world', which would be evident from this style, would not have been possible 'in the tired age of the Antonines, in which the world of classical values is seen far off in a mystic twilight without being understood'.⁵¹ Albrecht Dihle supports the result of Papanikolaou's linguistic research with a reference to the renaissance of classicism in the Augustan age, which would go well with the classical setting of *NAC*.⁵² But precisely this classical setting reminded Tadeusz Sinko of the sophistic literature of the second century AD.⁵³ Ruiz Montero points to the important role of education (*παιδεία*) in Chariton, which would make him a representative of the Second Sophistic and suggest a date when this movement started to thrive, at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century AD.⁵⁴ As in the case of language, the various arguments span the period from the late first century BC to the early second century AD. But the categories applied here are either merely atmospheric or too sweeping to be useful. As far as a sense of classicism in Chariton is concerned, we should bear in mind that an air of classicism might well be a deliberate stylistic choice. It might reflect the classicism of the Augustan age, but equally the restoration of classicism in the Second Sophistic. And then it is a thorny question when Augustan classicism loses its influence and the Second Sophistic starts to dawn. In Chariton's environment, it may well be that 'Augustan classicism' and 'Second Sophistic' overlapped, or that the former resulted in the

⁵¹ Perry 1967, 343–4; cf. in greater detail on Chariton's 'classical style' Perry 1930.

⁵² Dihle 1978, 54–5.

⁵³ Sinko 1940–6, 109; Sinko adds the idiosyncratic idea that the first novelist—Chariton is in Sinko's scheme the fountainhead of the novelistic tradition, if not explicitly its 'inventor'—should not be removed more than three lifespans from the last (Heliodorus, placed in the first half of the third century AD).

⁵⁴ Ruiz Montero 1994a, 1040–1.

latter. It therefore seems impossible to pin down Chariton's date by the notion of his general historical outlook.

(iii) References to material culture and institutions

A number of anachronistic historical references to contemporaneous material culture and institutions have been proposed to narrow down Chariton's date. Karl Plepelits has drawn attention to Ch. 2.7 where Dionysius' servant Plangon tricks Callirhoe into believing that her master has threatened her with death.⁵⁵ According to Plepelits, the idea that the life and death of a servant is in the hands of his master takes Roman law for granted. This is not cogent, since threatening a servant with death does not necessarily imply that the killing would be technically legal. However, if we accept Plepelits's argument it follows that at the date of composition of *NAC* the Greek law of Asia Minor—which became a Roman province in 129 BC—was already superseded by Roman law. How much time would this have taken? 'Rein gefühlsmäßig', conjectures Plepelits, more than 100 years, perhaps 150. Obviously, this reasoning lacks any objective basis for establishing a *terminus post quem*. More reliable, if far from certain, seems the *terminus ante quem* that our passage implies, for the emperor Hadrian (AD 117–38) abolished the right of a master to kill his slaves.⁵⁶

Marie-Françoise Baslez has made a whole series of suggestions related to history to determine Chariton's date.⁵⁷ Two of them rule out the Hellenistic period. First, Baslez refines Papanikolaou's argument of the Chinese bow and arrow in Ch. 6.4.2. She points out that while it is true that the Chinese had been known in the Graeco-Roman world since the early first century BC, it is not before the Augustan poets that they were seen as warriors. The motif of Chinese arrows may go back precisely to Hor. *Carm.* 1.29.9, where the Chinese weapons are likely to stand metonymically for Parthian ones. Second, Baslez refers to a potential anachronism in Ch. 5.4.6 where, along with the Persian captains and commanders, 'the most

⁵⁵ Cf. Plepelits 1976, 8–9.

⁵⁶ Cf. SHA *Hadr.* 18.7; Gai. *Inst.* 1.52–3.

⁵⁷ Cf. Baslez 1992, 203–4.

distinguished of the King's freedmen' (τῶν βασιλέως ἐξελευθέρων τὸ ἐντιμότατον) assist the Great King in his tribunal. This prominent role of freedmen is reminiscent of the Roman *familia Caesaris*, the freedmen in the emperor's service that are attested from the reign of Augustus until the early third century AD.⁵⁸

If the freedmen of the Great King are inspired by the *familia Caesaris* this not only makes a Hellenistic date improbable, but can also be seen—against Baslez's intentions—as a pointer towards the Julio-Claudian period in which the freedmen of the emperors were especially influential. Indeed, if we were to single out one emperor who was notorious for his circle of powerful freedmen, we would easily go for Claudius (AD 41–54).⁵⁹ In his entourage we find freedmen such as Polybius, secretary for patronage (*a studiis*), whose translation of Virgil into Greek could have played a role in Chariton's reception of the *Aeneid*;⁶⁰ Narcissus, general secretary (*ab epistulis*); or M. Antonius Pallas, financial secretary (*a rationibus*). Narcissus and Pallas were immensely rich and decorated with high public honours—Narcissus received the signs (*ornamenta*) of quaestorian, Pallas of praetorian status. After Claudius, the brief period of sensational influence by freedmen came to its end, and especially from the time of the Flavian emperors top posts formerly held by freedmen were progressively filled with equestrians.⁶¹ Chariton must have been very familiar with the power of at least one earlier imperial freedman. The Aphrodisian C. Iulius Zoilus who had been a slave in Rome was freed by Augustus (or perhaps already by Caesar) and returned rich and well connected to his home town.⁶² Zoilus financed an extensive building programme at Aphrodisias, which included the temple of Aphrodite, the stage building of the theatre, and a stoa in the agora. He thereby decisively contributed to the transformation of the city centre in the late first century BC and to what has been addressed as the 'second foundation' of Aphrodisias under Augustus. Zoilus was

⁵⁸ This was already noted by Karabélias 1990, 393 n. 104. Generally on imperial freedmen cf. e.g. Weaver 1972; Millar 1977, 69–83.

⁵⁹ Cf. e.g. Millar 1977, 74–7; Suet. *Claud.* 28.

⁶⁰ Cf. below, ch. 8, 286–8.

⁶¹ Cf. Weaver 1972, 259–66; Millar 1977, 76–9.

⁶² Cf. on Zoilus Reynolds 1982, 156–64; Smith 1993, esp. 4–13; for his building programme also Ratté 2002, 5–20.

no doubt the most prominent Aphrodisian of his time, which shows not least in his impressive tomb monument.⁶³ To all appearances, his close relationship to Augustus tightened the relations between Rome and Aphrodisias, which probably also influenced the further development of the city and might ultimately account to some extent for Chariton's apparent interest in things Roman. Perhaps it is relevant in this context that Chariton in another place (4.5.1–3) introduces a servant and letter-courier with the remarkable name Hyginus, which occurs with some frequency in inscriptions but not in Greek literature before Chariton.⁶⁴ We may think of Augustus' freedman C. Iulius Hyginus, who was appointed librarian of the Palatine Library (Suet. *Gram.* 20).

However, Baslez places Chariton under Hadrian. Her arguments for this date are less than fortunate. First, she takes Chariton's references to the Euphrates⁶⁵ as a cultural and political border as suggestive of a Hadrianic outlook on the Empire. She calls attention to the accounts of the fourth-century AD historians Eutropius and Festus who credit Hadrian with accepting the Euphrates as the natural border between the Romans and the Persians.⁶⁶ But Baslez fails to add that this was in actual fact a return to the long-established frontier which was only pushed eastwards by Hadrian's predecessor Trajan. The Euphrates had constituted a practical frontier between Rome and Parthia ever since the inroads of the Romans into the region under Sulla. More than that, it was established as a formal border of the province of Syria newly created by Pompey in 64 BC.⁶⁷ All three passages in Chariton cited by Baslez refer to this Syrian border and there is no substance to the idea that it would have been

⁶³ Cf. Smith 1993.

⁶⁴ Cf. Bowie 2006, 5–6; *LGPn* has 118 + 16 occurrences, *Iaph2007* none. For the *LGPn* figures I rely on the online search function of the *LGPn* website <<http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk>>. This function also yields preliminary figures for the volume on Pontus and Ionia (volume v.A), due to appear by the time this book will be going to press. I indicate the figures from volume v.A by a plus sign. Unfortunately, volume v.B on Caria and Cilicia will not come out any time soon. For the *Iaph2007* figures cf. the indexes of *Iaph2007*.

⁶⁵ Cf. Ch. 5.1.3–6; 6.8.6; 7.2.1.

⁶⁶ Cf. Eutr. 8. 6; Festus 14 and 20.

⁶⁷ Cf. for a convenient summary B. van Wickevoort Crommelin in *DNP* iv (1998), 272–3 s.v. 'Euphratgrenze (römisch)'.

particularly relevant to an author under Hadrian. The only piece of evidence presented for this relevance is a sense that Callirhoe's 'réticences' and her 'nostalgie' when crossing the Euphrates in Ch. 5.1.3 conform with a 'phase de repli' in the Eastern expansion of the Roman Empire. Apparently Callirhoe's sadness is here supposed to imply an authorial allusion to the Roman withdrawal from Trajan's conquests beyond the Euphrates. But this is unlikely, if for nothing else than for the fact that Trajan's campaigns beyond the Euphrates lasted exactly three years (AD 114–16) and would hardly have given rise to 'réticences' and 'nostalgie'. At about the same time as Baslez, Cécile Daude suggested that the general increased strategic relevance of the Euphrates in the years AD 114–16 and soon afterwards inspired Chariton's reference.⁶⁸ But the whole notion that Callirhoe's psychology at this point has anything to do with Trajanic or Hadrianic politics seems to me groundless: Callirhoe is sad because she leaves the familiar Greek world and enters 'barbarian' Persia. The geopolitical conditions for this scene were given at least since the establishment of the province of Syria in 64 BC (although the Hellenization of Syria had made the Euphrates a cultural border long before). If anything, Chariton's emphasis on the Euphrates as a border provides us with 64 BC as a—not very useful—*terminus post quem*.

Baslez' second major argument, related to Callirhoe's journey to Persia, is equally unconvincing: the route taken by Callirhoe and Dionysius is the direct journey through southern Asia Minor and Syria, referred to in Ch. 5.1.3. Dionysius' rival, Mithridates, however, wishes to avoid the impression of pursuing Callirhoe. In a bid to beat Dionysius to the Persian court, he 'travels more vehemently' (5.2.1: *ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν σφοδροτέραν*) on a route through Armenia. The natural guess from this information is that Mithridates took what Herodotus (5.52–4) famously describes as the Persian Royal Road. The Royal Road linked Asia Minor with the rest of the Persian Empire and was still in use in Roman times. From west to east, it started from Sardes in Lydia, went directly through the centre of Phrygia and Cappadocia,⁶⁹ crossed the Euphrates at Tomisa, traversed a stretch in the south-west of Armenia, and then followed

⁶⁸ Cf. Daude 1990, 87 n. 1.

⁶⁹ Scholars used to assume a course further to the north, but see now French 1998.

the Tigris all the way down to Susa—clearly with several junctions leading to major Persian cities such as Babylon.⁷⁰ However, Baslez does not believe that this was Mithridates' route since it would not have allowed him to arrive 'si vite'. *How fast? Compared to what?* Baslez does not begin to substantiate her impression that Mithridates could not have been 'so fast' on the Royal Road. While Herodotus informs us about the distances and travel times on the Royal Road, any guess at the total length of Callirhoe's route—whose exact course escapes us—would be hazardous. In any event, a look at the possible routes⁷¹ shows that the Royal Road cannot have been much longer. It was certainly not as long as to prevent Mithridates, who travelled in forced march, from outracing Dionysius, who had to parade Callirhoe to the local people along the whole journey (Ch. 5.1.8). Moreover, the Royal Road clearly had a reputation for being fast—witness Herodotus (8.98) who much admired the relay system of couriers that was in place on this and other Persian roads. Baslez's own suggestion for Mithridates' route makes little sense to me: she refers Chariton's 'Armenia' to the Roman province Armenia Minor in the north-east of Asia Minor, westward to the Euphrates. Mithridates would have gone up there as far as Satala and then followed the Euphrates southward to Babylon. Two things are odd here: first, if Mithridates wanted to follow the Euphrates, he surely would not have gone northward into Armenia Minor, which is an extreme detour if one comes from Caria; second, in its southern part, this route seems to be the same as Callirhoe's—who would probably have reached the Euphrates at Zeugma—, but Mithridates wanted precisely to avoid the impression of following Callirhoe. Finally, Baslez maintains that this route had been established only since the annexation of the Commagene under the Flavian emperors, which would imply a *terminus post quem* for Chariton's novel. While it is true that various roads along the Euphrates had been supplemented and reinforced in the course of the fortification of the river frontier

⁷⁰ This is quite precisely the route drawn in the map of Goold 1995, between pp. 7 and 8. Molinié 1979 (at the end of his edition) and J. Alvares in Schmeling 1996a, 804 provide maps too, but as far as Mithridates' journey is concerned, both seem to rest on fantasy.

⁷¹ Cf. e.g. the relevant maps in Chevallier 1997 and French 1998; additionally Goold 1995, between pp. 7 and 8.

since the Flavian emperors, it does not seem good reason to believe that there was no route at all there before.⁷² More importantly however, it is highly improbable that Mithridates used this route rather than the Royal Road in the first place.

In sum, it must be said that references to material culture and institutions cannot significantly narrow down the period established by linguistic research. The most we can get from here is the exclusion of a Hellenistic date and a hint at the Julio-Claudian period.

(iv) References to specific persons and events

a) *Dionysius of Miletus*

More promising are, *prima facie*, potential allusions to contemporaneous persons and events. Some scholars have turned their attention to Chariton's character Dionysius, a rich man from Miletus who represents an ideal of education—four times he is explicitly referred to as an 'educated man' (ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος).⁷³ Some man of letters would seem to be a fitting model. Perhaps the celebrated sophist Dionysius of Miletus? He lived under Hadrian and is well known from the account that Philostratus gives of his life.⁷⁴ According to Philostratus, a work called *Araspes, the Lover of Pantheia* was falsely—and maybe malignly—ascribed to Dionysius.⁷⁵ This work, apparently inspired by Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (5.1.4), would have told the story of the Mede Araspes, a friend of Cyrus the Great, who felt impervious to love but became infatuated with the beautiful captive Pantheia when Cyrus entrusted her to him. If *Araspes, the Lover of Pantheia* was a love novel, as some suspect, we would have the possibility of an alleged writer of a love novel who makes a fictional appearance in a love novel. If *Araspes, the Lover of Pantheia* was a different kind of

⁷² Baslez refers to Frézouls 1981, esp. 188–90, but Frézouls does not support her claim.

⁷³ Ch. 2.4.1; 3.2.6; 4.7.6; 5.5.1.

⁷⁴ Philostr. VS 1.22.521–6; cf. *PIR*² D 105; Schmid 1903; Jones 1980, 373–4; on his potential identity with Chariton's Dionysius cf. Ruiz Montero 1980, 65–6; ead. 1994a, 1007 n. 6; Jones 1992, 165; Morgan 2007b, 24 with n. 3.

⁷⁵ Philostr. VS 1.22.524.

work,⁷⁶ which seems more likely to me, the sophist and the fictional character would still be linked by a love interest played out in Persia, very much as in Chariton's *NAC*.

Even so, I do not think this possible identification can be used for our dating. Ewen Bowie has turned the tables and suggested that the celebrity of the sophist Dionysius, because of the provocatively risky nature of a novelistic allusion to him, should be seen as a *terminus ante quem* rather than *post quem*.⁷⁷ Clearly, Dionysius was a friend of the emperor Hadrian and an influential man with some power in Asia Minor. I am not convinced, however, that Chariton's highly fictional account would have given reason for offence. To my mind, what discourages an identification with the sophist is rather that there is no lack of other good reasons for the choice of the name 'Dionysius' and the location of his character at Miletus. If we would like to see an exact 'Dionysius of Miletus' as Chariton's model, we might as well think of the historian of the same name. The historian Dionysius is known as a contemporary of Hecataeus (c.560–c.480 BC) and as the author of, among other things, a Persian history (*Περσικά*).⁷⁸ There is a dispute about the reliability of our sources for Dionysius and his work, but in the present context it is irrelevant whether Dionysius was a real person at all. It only matters that Chariton could have known of his name and alleged work. This Dionysius would be a man of letters, too, and equally be associated with an interest in Persia. We do not know anything about a potential romantic element in his history, but this is hardly necessary: the erotic transformation of history is a signature of Chariton's literary approach rather than something extensively present in the material he draws on.⁷⁹

Another person from the real world who might, in one way or another, have inspired Chariton's character is the tyrant Dionysius

⁷⁶ The form of the title (ὁ Ἀράσπας ὁ τῆς Πανθείας ἐρῶν), subject + object + verb, is unparalleled in our novelistic corpus—cf. Whitmarsh 2005. Moreover, the context points to a declamation: Philostratus reports that the work was actually by a certain Celer who 'lacked skill in declamation' (μελέτη δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν); cf. the discussion in Stramaglia 1996a, 128–9.

⁷⁷ Bowie 2002, 54; id. 2006, 6.

⁷⁸ Cf. *FGrH* 687; the most comprehensive account is Moggi 1972.

⁷⁹ Cf. e.g. Alvares 1997.

I of Sicily. In fact, most scholars who have considered a historical model for Chariton's Dionysius have thought of the tyrant. This identification is attractive because it picks up on the historical setting of *NAC* itself. At the end of Chariton's story, Callirhoe's anonymous son stays with Dionysius in Miletus, but he is expected to sail one day to Syracuse, where he will be received in triumph.⁸⁰ Samuel Naber first put forward the suggestion that Chariton here thinks of Callirhoe's son as the future tyrant Dionysius I, who married the anonymous daughter of Hermocrates (the Callirhoe of our novel) and succeeded him as ruler of Syracuse.⁸¹ In addition, Perry refers to the tyrant's well-known patronage of literature and art, which would have inspired the intellectual qualities of the fictional Dionysius of Miletus. While a number of shifts need to be allowed in this identification—the husband of Callirhoe becomes her son etc.—it seems clear enough that the wider Sicilian context of Chariton's setting, which he found in historiography, could have affected the naming of his character Dionysius.

Last but not least, we should not forget that Dionysius is an extremely frequent name.⁸² There is no pressing need to find historical models for Dionysius apart from daily life. Further below, I suggest that there might in fact have been a relevant Dionysius in Chariton's Aphrodisias. The fact that the Dionysius of *NAC* resides at Miletus may simply be due to Chariton's choice of this location because of the Milesian cult of Aphrodite and Aristides' *Milesian Tales*. All this does not firmly exclude an identification of Chariton's Dionysius of Miletus with the sophist who lived under Hadrian. But there are too many plausible alternative explanations to accept this identification as a *terminus post quem* for *NAC*.

b) Chaereas

The idea that Chariton's Chaereas might partly be modelled on a contemporary of the novelist was stated in an aside by Léon Herrmann

⁸⁰ 8.4.5–6; 8.7.11–12; 8.8.14; cf. already 2.9.5; 2.11.2; 3.8.8.

⁸¹ Naber 1901, 98–9; cf. later e.g. Perry 1930, 101–2; Perry 1967, 138–9; Connors 2002, 14 and 16–17.

⁸² *LGN*: 3024 + 874; *IAph2007*: 57 occurrences.

and has been discussed to some extent by Ewen Bowie.⁸³ Both refer to the Roman Cassius Chaerea (in Greek *Κάσσιος Χαιρέας*)⁸⁴ who was tribune of the praetorian guard in AD 41 when he assassinated the emperor Caligula. This was a big story which must have resounded throughout the Empire and lent new relevance to the name 'Chaereas'. Bowie also points out that the murderer seems to have had a history of violent behaviour: Tacitus attributes to the young centurion that Chaerea was in AD 14 a 'wild temper' (*Ann.* 1.32: *animi ferox*). Chaerea's propensity to violent actions as well as his military career would account for an aggressive strand in the character of Chariton's hero, which shows in his kicking of Callirhoe and his later transformation into a military leader. In conclusion, Bowie adopts the date of Chaerea's murder of Caligula in AD 41 as a *terminus post quem* for NAC.

This reasoning is possible, but difficult in determining a *terminus post quem*. The name of Chaereas and the violent strain in his character can well be explained otherwise. Perry pointed to the prominent Athenian general and mercenary Chabrias (c.420–357/6 BC) who supported the Egyptian king Tachos in a revolt against Persia in 360 BC.⁸⁵ The parallels with Chariton's Chaereas are striking: not only do both soldiers fight for the Egyptian king against Persia, but both act on their own account as the commander of an Egyptian fleet. Even Chaereas' preventive occupation of Cyprus may reflect a reminiscence of Chabrias who was an ally of king Euagoras of Cyprus and had his men stationed on this island from c.388 to 386 BC. Chronology is hardly a problem to Chariton, who makes Hermocrates (died 407 BC) and Artaxerxes II (405/4–359/8 BC) contemporaries. The slight alteration of the name from Chabrias to the more frequent⁸⁶ form Chaereas could have been influenced by the

⁸³ Herrmann 1975–6, 159; Bowie 2002, 54–5.

⁸⁴ Cf. for the Greek form of the name e.g. the accounts in Plut. *De superst.* 170E; Joseph *AJ* 18. 32–114.

⁸⁵ Perry 1930, 100 n. 11; cf. later e.g. Salmon 1961; Goold 1995, 12. Ancient accounts of Chabrias' life are given e.g. by Diod. Sic. 15.92; Nepos, *Chabrias*. The general historical background of Chariton's Egyptian revolt was already unravelled by Rohde 1914³ (1876), 523.

⁸⁶ *LGN*: *Χαβρίας* 23 + 4; *Χαιρέας* 144 + 20; *IAph2007*: *Χαβρίας* 0; *Χαιρέας* 7 (second to third century AD).

occurrence of the latter name in New Comedy, for instance in Menander's *Dyscolus*, *Aspis*, and *Coneazomenae*.⁸⁷ The military leadership of Chariton's Chaereas finds a better explanation in Chabrias than in Cassius Chaerea. As far as Chaereas' kicking of Callirhoe is concerned, neither provides a close model, but the 'wild temper' of Cassius Chaerea has a counterpart in Chabrias: Plutarch describes him as 'uneven and violent' (*Phoc.* 6.1: ἀνώμαλον...καὶ ἄκρατον). I do not think, however, that a historical model is at all needed to account for Chaereas' kicking of Callirhoe. Husbands kicking their pregnant wives are a topos of ancient historiography.⁸⁸ The tyrant of Corinth, Periander, was said to have killed his pregnant wife Melissa in this way (Diog. Laert. 1.94; cf. Hdt. 3.50; 5.92). Herodotus ascribes the same rage to the Persian king Cambyses (Hdt. 3.32). Nero's kicking of the pregnant Poppaea is notorious (e.g. Suet. *Ner.* 35.3). Even the famed sophist and politician Herodes Atticus was charged with having beaten his pregnant wife Regilla to death, although in this case we do not read of a kick and the beating would have been executed by a servant (Philostr. *VS* 2.1.555–6). In these historical and biographical accounts, the perpetrator is a despotic figure or a high-ranking politician, and the motive for the crime is a general propensity to anger rather than jealousy—though the 'false accusations' made by Periander's concubines in Diogenes Laertius may refer to exactly that.⁸⁹ But the more private and erotic touch in Chariton's version again conforms with Chariton's basic novelistic technique: he switches attention from leaders of history to less conspicuous fictional characters and motivates their behaviour with a love interest. Chaereas' kicking of Callirhoe seems best explained as an adaptation of the historiographical topos. While there is still a chance that the figure of Cassius Chaerea has influenced Chariton's Chaereas *in addition* to historiography, this chance is nothing to establish a *terminus post quem*.

Another point remains to be discussed in this context. I have mentioned Nero's fatal kicking of his pregnant wife Poppaea. This

⁸⁷ Cf. Mason 2002 for influences of New Comedy on Chariton's Chaereas.

⁸⁸ Cf. Ameling 1986; Hunter 1994, 1080; Champlin 2003, 107–10.

⁸⁹ Diog. Laert. 1. 94: πεισθεὶς διαβολαῖς παλλακίδων. Of course, Diogenes Laertius himself could have added this detail to the older tradition.

is said to have happened in AD 65. Of the cases of domestic violence referred to above, it is the only one possibly contemporaneous with Chariton. Some scholars have thought that Nero's kick was a recent event at the time of composition of *NAC* and that Chariton took a cue from it. Others, however, suspect that Chariton could have precisely inspired the allegations that were raised against Nero.⁹⁰ Can AD 65 therefore be established as either a *terminus post quem* or *ante quem*? The answer is no. If Chariton drew his inspiration from a literary topos rather than reality, there is no reason to deduce a *terminus post quem* from Nero's kicking of Poppaea. And if Chariton predates this event and Nero fell victim to a rumour (or, as Champlin suggests, deliberately started it), there is no reason to assume that Chariton rather than a historian like Herodotus helped form the story of Nero's rage against his wife. Chariton's allusion to Nero's kick or his influence on the story about it remain vague possibilities, not good enough to determine the relative chronology of *NAC*.

c) *Athenagoras*

Part of the difficulty of referring Chariton's Dionysius and Chaereas to historical persons lies in the playful nature of fiction and fictional characters. Perhaps a more reliable point of reference can be expected from Athenagoras, Chariton's employer. Chariton mentions him in a non-fictional way when introducing himself to his readers: 'My name is Chariton, of Aphrodisias, and I am clerk to the attorney Athenagoras' (1.1.1: *Χαρίτων Ἀφροδισιεύς, Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ ῥήτορος ὑπογραφεύς*...). Jacques Philippe D'Orville, the first editor of *NAC*, and after him notably Erwin Rohde suspected for similar reasons that this sentence was part of Chariton's fiction.⁹¹ The name 'Chariton' itself would have been made up to evoke the Charites, the goddesses of charm and grace who would justly preside over a love novel written in the city of Aphrodite (it should be noted,

⁹⁰ For the first option see M. P. Charlesworth in Braun 1938, 11 n. 1; Karabélias 1990, 370 n. 2; Courtney 2001, 25; for the second Goold 1995, 48–9 n. a) on Ch. 1.4.12.

⁹¹ Cf. D'Orville 1783² (1750), 200–2; Rohde 1914³ (1876), 520.

though, that they do not occur in this nor in any other known ideal novel). ‘Athenagoras’ would refer to a Syracusan opponent of Hermocrates, who is known from Thucydides’ account of the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. 6.35–40). D’Orville argued that this link with the setting of the novel would make NAC look like a report by an eyewitness to the events. But if indeed Thucydides’ Athenagoras was configured as narrator, one would expect his attitude towards the protagonists to be hostile. However, D’Orville did not live to see the publication of inscriptions from Aphrodisias which included the names of Athenagoras and Chariton. And when Rohde came across them he withdrew the idea of a fictional set-up.⁹² Today no scholar seriously argues against the non-fictional character of Chariton’s introduction. D’Orville himself was not convinced of his suspicion and proposed an identification with a real person, which was taken up by later scholars. He pointed to the occurrence of a rhetor Athenagoras in an epigram of Ammianus—a poet known only from a number of pieces in the *Palatine Anthology*. The epigram in question is 11.150:

Ἀρκαδικὸν πῖλον κατ’ ἐνύπνιον Ἀρκάδι δῶρον
 Ἑρμείῃ ῥήτωρ θῆκεν Ἀθηναγόρας.
 εἰ μὲν καὶ ῥήτωρ κατ’ ἐνύπνιον, οἴσομεν Ἑρμῇ.
 εἰ δ’ ὕπαρ, ἀρκείτω· Θῆκεν Ἀθηναγόρας’.

‘The rhetor Athenagoras in consequence of a dream dedicated an Arcadian hat to Arcadian Hermes.’ If he is a rhetor, too, in a dream only, we will take it so inscribed to Hermes, but if he is a real one, let ‘Athenagoras dedicated this’ suffice.

The fact that both the Athenagoras of this epigram and Chariton’s Athenagoras are addressed as a rhetor suggested to D’Orville that they are one and the same person. On this reasoning, Chariton would

⁹² Cf. Rohde 1893, 139–40, incorporated into the second edition of *Der griechische Roman* by Fritz Schöll, cf. Rohde 1914³ (1876), 520–1 n. 2. Rohde refers to CIG 2846 (= *IAph2007* 12.1112), a funerary inscription for a doctor Ulpus Claudius Chariton (to this day our only epigraphic evidence for the name Chariton at Aphrodisias), from the late second or early third century AD; furthermore to CIG 2782 (= *IAph2007* 12.1111) and CIG 2783 (= *IAph2007* 12.1018), both of which mention individuals named Athenagoras from a distinguished Aphrodisian family.

have been a contemporary of Ammianus, whom D'Orville placed in the late fourth century AD⁹³—Ammianus' epigrams on the prominent sophist Antonius Polemon (c. AD 88–144), which are the basis of our dating today, were published (*Anth. Pal.* 11.180) or attributed to him (*Anth. Pal.* 11.181) only in the nineteenth century. Wilhelm Schmid is aware of our two *Athenagorai rhetores* in his short *RE* article on Athenagoras rhetor, but he neither assigns a date to Ammianus' Athenagoras nor identifies him with Chariton's.⁹⁴ This step was taken by Consuelo Ruiz Montero who points to Ammianus' epigrams on Antonius Polemon and concludes that the epigrams would have been written in the first decades of the second century AD; that, in all likelihood, the epigram on Athenagoras would be roughly contemporaneous; and finally, on the assumption that Ammianus' and Chariton's rhetor are the same person, that Chariton would have lived at the turn of the first century AD.⁹⁵

This argument is appealing because the references of Ammianus and Chariton are in fact our only two attestations of a *rhetor* Athenagoras. However, it rests on the precarious supposition that Ammianus' Athenagoras was Aphrodisian. Considering that Antonius Polemon was a citizen of Smyrna we may tentatively locate Ammianus in this city or at least in Asia Minor, but of course he could have referred to any Athenagoras in the Graeco-Roman world who had anything to do with rhetoric.⁹⁶ Or indeed, as Hendrich Schulte suggests,⁹⁷ to Polemon himself, who went to Athens to deliver the inaugural oration for Hadrian's Olympieum in AD 130. 'Athenagoras', the 'speaker in Athens' (from *Ἀθῆναι* and *ἀγορεύω*) would then be a (literally) speaking name—a rhetorical trope more often used by Ammianus, for instance in *Anth. Pal.* 11.16—that alludes to this event and perhaps also ridicules Polemon's imperfect Atticism: the Atticist lexicographer Phrynichus, under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, reports that Polemon once dedicated a statue of Demosthenes to the Asclepius of Pergamum and incorrectly used the adverbial phrase *κατ' ὄναρ* instead of simply *ὄναρ* in his inscription. The repeated and thus emphasized

⁹³ Cf. D'Orville 1783² (1750), 199.

⁹⁴ Cf. Schmid 1896.

⁹⁵ Ruiz Montero 1980; cf. approvingly Jones 1992, 165.

⁹⁶ The *LGN* figures for the name Athenagoras are 82 + 71.

⁹⁷ Cf. Schulte 2004, 12 n. 2, 30–1, and 78–9.

κατ' ἐνύπνιον (instead of ἐνύπνιον) used by Ammianus' Athenagoras could mimic this 'mistake'. This reading provides an alternative identification of Ammianus' 'Athenagoras', an attractive one in my view, not least because Phrynichus' story is true: Polemon's dedicatory inscription has been found in Pergamum.⁹⁸ In what follows I give an alternative identification of Chariton's Athenagoras.

Except for some confused accounts,⁹⁹ the evidence of the Aphrodisian inscriptions has never been used to identify Chariton's Athenagoras. While a number of scholars have cited the inscriptions referred to by Rohde, it has always been clear that the name Athenagoras in them only generally proves its occurrence at Aphrodisias. Since Rohde, however, the epigraphic finds have considerably increased, and this affects also our knowledge of the family of the Athenagorai. In a paper on a prominent member of the Athenagorai at Aphrodisias, Joyce Reynolds has drawn a family tree¹⁰⁰ which I here reproduce (see Fig. 1) for the sake of clarity. I am tempted to see Chariton's rhetor in the highlighted Athenagoras, son of Athenagoras, who was probably born at the beginning of the Christian Era or a little earlier—Reynolds dates one of his sons tentatively to the late Augustan, early Julio-Claudian period. Our Athenagoras held a number of prominent public offices, as we know from this honorary inscription (*IAph2007* 13.302):

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Ἀθηναγόραν Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ Εὐμάχου ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ φιλόπατριν καὶ γυμνασίαρχον καὶ στεφανηφόρον καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην γενόμενον καὶ πρεσβεύσαν[τα . . . ? . . .]

The council and the People honoured Athenagoras son of Athenagoras the son of Eumachos, a fine and good man and a lover of his city who had been a gymnasiarch, a *stephanephorus* and president at contests, and an ambassador [.. ? ..].

⁹⁸ Cf. e.g. Schulte 2004, 78–9 (with photograph); Puech 2002, 399–401.

⁹⁹ Cueva 2000, 200–1 misleadingly attributes to Ruiz Montero 1980 his own idea that the persons of Chariton's first sentence are identical to the persons of the inscriptions referred to by Rohde; Cueva does not seem to have any misgivings about identifying the doctor Chariton from c. AD 200 (cf. n. 92 above) with the novelist whose *terminus ante quem* he himself determines as AD 150; cf. similarly—without explicit identification of Athenagoras—Schmeling 1974, 17–18.

¹⁰⁰ Reynolds 1999, 329.

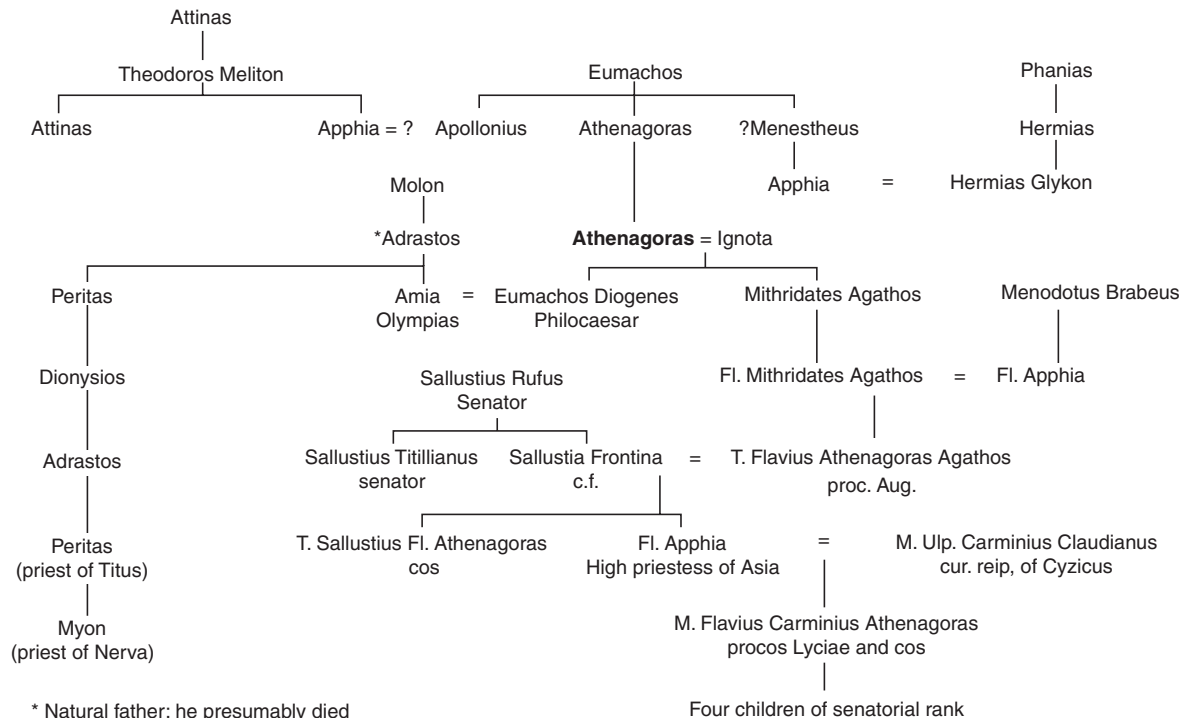


FIG. 1: Family tree of the Athenagorai at Aphrodisias; from Reynolds 1999, 329 (with permission).

As a gymnasiarch Athenagoras supervised the civic gymnasium where the male youth exercised and received their schooling. The *stephanephorus* (literally ‘crown wearer’) was the eponymous magistrate of Aphrodisias, that is the magistrate who gave his name to his year(s) in office and so established the chronology of the city. At Aphrodisias, the *stephanephorus* was usually the priest of Aphrodite.¹⁰¹ A president at contests (*agonothetes*) organized and presided over athletic competitions. As to Athenagoras’ activity as an ambassador, we do not know anything about the destination of his embassy or embassies since the inscription breaks off at this point, but judging from parallel cases our first guess must be Rome.¹⁰²

It is evident from these titles that Athenagoras played a notable role in the public life of Aphrodisias. They also imply that he was a relatively wealthy man since the offices of a gymnasiarch, *stephanephorus* and *agonothetes* were expensive liturgies. It is true that our Athenagoras is not attested as a rhetor. Bernadette Puech has pointed out, however, that there is an ‘étonnant silence’ about this title in the epigraphy from the end of the Augustan period to the end of the first century AD.¹⁰³ This does not mean that rhetors did not play an important role in this time, but seems to imply that they were, *qua* rhetors, honoured more discreetly than in the second century AD when the Second Sophistic took hold. Athenagoras’ position in the administration of Aphrodisias would have required some rhetorical skills, and these could in turn have recommended him for his activities as an ambassador.

More importantly in our context, three of Athenagoras’ offices could have provided some inspiration for Chariton’s work. The youthful users of the gymnasium are precisely the age group of the heroes of our ideal novels. We find references to the gymnasium in Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Achilles Tatius, and Heliodorus,¹⁰⁴ but none are as significant as Chariton’s. At the beginning of NAC,

¹⁰¹ Cf. Sherk 1991, 231–2.

¹⁰² Cf. the prosopography of Aphrodisian honorands at Smith *et al.* 2006, 75–97, e.g. nos. 94, 95, 174, 183, 212. In all cases in which the destination of an embassy is named it is Rome.

¹⁰³ Cf. Puech 2002, 6.

¹⁰⁴ XE: 3.2.2 (related to a secondary character); cf. Habrocomes’ ‘exercises’ (γυμνάσματα) in 1.1.2 and 1.5.1; AT: 1.8.11; 8.9.4; 8.17.8 (always related to secondary characters); Heliod.: 10.31.5.

the gymnasium is carefully introduced as Chaereas' usual place: he is brought up in the gymnasium (1.2.6); it is on his way home from the gymnasium that he first bumps into Callirhoe (1.1.5); and when the sorrows of love keep him away from the gymnasium it seems deserted (1.1.10). More than that, Chariton appears to correlate Aphrodite and the gymnasium in the fate of his lovers. When Chaereas is going home from the gymnasium, Callirhoe is on her way to the temple of Aphrodite (1.1.4), where she prays to the goddess after she has fallen in love at first sight (1.1.6). And perhaps it is an ironic allusion to Chaereas' initial exercises when it is said at the end that Aphrodite has punished him enough, 'having "exercised" him over land and sea' (8.1.3: *γυμνάσασα διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης*). Which brings me to Athenagoras' priesthood of Aphrodite, suggested by his office as a *stephanephorus*. If the Aphrodisian cult of Aphrodite to some extent inspired NAC, then the priesthood of Chariton's employer would have been a particular motivation for a literary tribute to the goddess. Finally, Athenagoras' office as an ambassador. If indeed this office brought him to Rome, it could in a very economical manner account for a certain 'Romanness' behind NAC. I have already talked about the privileged relationship between Aphrodisias and Rome. I have also mentioned Chariton's apparent allusion to the *familia Caesaris* in 5.4.6. Perhaps most strikingly, in chapters seven and eight, I will argue for Chariton's reception of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Athenagoras' second son, Eumachos Diogenes 'Philocaesar' seems to be significant against this backdrop. The title 'Philocaesar'—which we read on a dedication that he made for the temple of Aphrodite—attests to Eumachos' loyalty to Rome and may be best explained by a priesthood of the imperial cult held by him.¹⁰⁵

The generation of Athenagoras' children provides a number of potential clues to Chariton, and it was this part of the family tree that caught my attention first. Athenagoras' second son is called Mithridates. This Persian name is quite unusual for Greeks. The published volumes of *LGPN*—which do not cover Asia Minor—have no more than eight attestations. The preliminary figure for the volume on Pontus and Ionia is thirteen, which, considering the prominence of the dynasty of the rulers Mithradates I–VI in the Hellenistic kingdom

¹⁰⁵ So Reynolds 1999, 328; cf. the dedication and its inscription at *I Aph2007* 1.4.

of Pontus, is still a relatively low number.¹⁰⁶ At Aphrodisias, we know of no more than two persons who carried this name, the son of our Athenagoras, Mithridates Agathos, and Mithridates' own son, Flavius Mithridates Agathos. The occurrence of the name Mithridates together with some other Persian names at Aphrodisias¹⁰⁷ has been related to the existence of Persian traditions in the city. They either reached back to the Persian occupation of Asia Minor or were a deliberate attempt to enrich the construction of family identity with an oriental element. Reynolds has conjectured that our Athenagoras might have married into a family that upheld these Persian or Persianizing traditions. This would explain the name of his son and perhaps to some extent also the apparent increase of influence of Athenagoras' family starting from the generation of his children.¹⁰⁸

How does this bear on Chariton? In two ways, I think. On the one hand, the Persian tradition in Athenagoras' family could have stimulated Chariton's interest in Persia where a large part of NAC is set.¹⁰⁹ Clearly, ever since the Persian Wars Persia was a hot topic in Greek public affairs, especially in Asia Minor which had long been a battleground for Greek and Persian dominance. But a Persian connection in Athenagoras' family might have added a private interest and a specific motive. On the other hand, Athenagoras' son could have inspired the appearance of the fictional character Mithridates, satrap of Caria, in Chariton's novel (4.1–2). There is nothing original about naming a Persian satrap Mithridates. According to Photius' excerpt of Ctesias' *Persica*, queen Statira helped a certain Mitradates (*Μιτραδάτης*) to the succession of his father in a satrapy of unknown name;¹¹⁰ and in the statistical note at the end of Xenophon's *Anabasis*—probably the interpolation of a later editor—we learn that at

¹⁰⁶ Add to this one occurrence of the form Mitradates (*Μιτραδάτης*), and seventeen preliminary occurrences of Mithradates (*Μιθραδάτης*) in Pontus and Ionia. The text of NAC always has Mithridates (*Μιθριδάτης*).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *IAPH2007* 12.801, a funerary inscription mentioning one Atrapatos (first century BC to first century AD); generally Robert 1983, 505–9 on 'Iranians à Aphrodisias'.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Reynolds 1999, 328–30.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. similarly Jones 1992, 162; Jones bases this reading on Fl. Mithridates Agathos and T. Flavius Athenagoras Agathos. The jigsaw of the family tree before Fl. Mithridates Agathos was not yet put together at the time of Jones's paper.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 72.43b8–10.

the time of the events one Mithradates (*Μιθραδάτης*) was the satrap of Lycaonia and Cappadocia.¹¹¹ Still, history does not provide us with a satrap Mithridates in Caria, Chariton's homeland, and the literary references in Ctesias and Xenophon would have facilitated rather than obstructed a transformation of a real Mithridates into a fictional one.¹¹² One might object that the Persians are the villains in Chariton and that the 'Persian' part of Athenagoras' family would not have been amused by Mithridates' role in *NAC*. But this would be a rather unimaginative approach to literature. Romance is not a representative genre and Chariton surely no stranger to mild irony. However, except perhaps for the pirates, there are no bad characters in Chariton at all. The author is sympathetic toward all protagonists and makes their psychological motivations clear and understandable. The royal couple, Artaxerxes and Statira, get their own happy ending. And as for Mithridates, he returns after the trial to Caria, 'a more imposing figure than before' (*λαμπρότερος ἢ πρόσθεν*). Athenagoras' sons, then, would both in their own way have continued the relations of their father to Rome on the one hand and to Persia on the other. And both relations seem to be reflected in *NAC*.

There may be a further parallel concerning the wife of Eumachos Diogenes, Amia Olympias. Eumachos' marriage to her is likely to have meant a considerable rise in the social hierarchy of Aphrodisias, as Amia Olympias belonged to one of the top families of the city—her ancestry is in one inscription referred to as 'the co-founders of the homeland'.¹¹³ Amia Olympias was the daughter of one Adrastus, a name also borne by a character in Chariton's novel. This would in itself be of little interest since Adrastus is one of the most frequent names at Aphrodisias (though fairly rare otherwise).¹¹⁴ It is remarkable, however, that both the real and the fictional Adrastus are closely related to a Dionysius, and that this Dionysius appears as an adoptive father. The real Adrastus presumably died young and Amia Olympias was adopted by one Dionysios. In *NAC*, we meet Adrastus as the

¹¹¹ Cf. Xen. *An.* 7.8.25.

¹¹² Cf. Bowie 2006, 4–6 who thinks that the character of Mithridates, satrap of Caria, would have given local readers 'a twinge of *campanilismo*'.

¹¹³ Cf. Reynolds 1999, 328 and *I Aph2007* 11.508: ... τῶν συνεκτικόντων τὴν πατρίδα.

¹¹⁴ The name index of *I Aph2007* s.v. Ἀδραστος lists 82 occurrences, not all of which, however, refer to different persons. *LGNP*: 29 + 15.

manager of Dionysius' estate outside Miletus (2.1.6), and Dionysius becomes the adoptive father of Callirhoe's child, notwithstanding that he deems it his own.

Perhaps all this is a coincidence, but to me the circumstantial evidence is too strong not to assume a connection with Chariton. What I am suggesting is not that Chariton adapted some family story, but that he playfully merged his real life with literary memories and personal imagination. Certainly, the latter elements were decisive in creating a new literary form. But the sheer fact that Chariton refers to his employer at the beginning of his work—something unparalleled in classical literature—might be best explained by some connection between the content of *NAC* and Athenagoras' person.

Now, tempting as the case for our Athenagoras of the Julio-Claudian period is, on the sole basis of the family tree I cannot exclude an identification of Chariton's employer with a later member of the family who would bring us back to the time of Trajan or, rather, Hadrian. I am referring to Titus Flavius Athenagoras Agathos, probably born some time in the last quarter of the first century. He is in fact a more prominent Athenagoras than his great-grandfather. It is his person around which Reynolds drew her family tree and he is one of the Athenagorai known to Rohde from the inscriptions of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.¹¹⁵ He is the first Aphrodisian known to have held the post of a procurator, that is an employee in the imperial civil administration.¹¹⁶ The post implies that he held equestrian rank. He married into a senatorial family, and his son even became a Roman senator. As with the earlier Athenagoras, there is no shortage of elements to explain traces of Roman influence on *NAC*. The Persian element would be provided by Athenagoras' father, Flavius Mithridates Agathos. In the generation of our procurator we even find an Adrastus, son of Dionysios, the son of Amia Olympias' brother Peritas, who like his sister had Adrastus as his father but was later adopted by Dionysios.

In other words, if Chariton had been secretary to the procurator Athenagoras, he would have found a real-life context which is in significant respects comparable to that of three generations earlier.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Reynolds 1999; *CIG* 2782 (= *IAph2007* 12.1111); cf. above, n. 92.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *IAph2007* 12.646, col. 1, lines 15–16, where he is called ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ, 'procurator of the Emperor'.

Only a slightly neater picture leads me at this point to give my preference to the earlier Athenagoras. We do not know about any offices or civic benefactions of the procurator apart from his post in the imperial administration. This means we could not in the same way relate NAC with the Aphrodisian gymnasium and the cult of Aphrodite. In addition, if the earlier Athenagoras married into a family with a Persian tradition, this would have been more of a new start and probably more relevant to contemporaries than the memory of the father and grandfather of the procurator. All told, only additional arguments can settle the question. But I hope to have shown two points. First, Ammianus' and Chariton's Athenagorai are probably different persons; and second, my identification does not require Chariton's Athenagoras to have been a contemporary of Trajan or Hadrian. He could equally—and this is perhaps even more likely—have lived under the Julio-Claudian emperors.

(v) Literature

It turns out that in our case literary allusions and debts provide the best and most reliable clues to Chariton's date. I here re-examine the most promising suggestions that have been put forward. They regard the Gospels, Plutarch's *Theseus*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Persius' *Satires*. The first three imply a *terminus post quem*, the last one a *terminus ante quem*.

a) *The Gospels*

It is well known that the language and style of Chariton and of the New Testament have a great deal in common.¹¹⁷ The usual way of accounting for this fact is to assume that both Chariton and the authors of the New Testament wrote in roughly the same epoch and in a similar socio-linguistic register. Beyond this global linguistic frame, Glen Bowersock has made a splash with his thesis that the ancient novel was born as part of a general explosion of pagan literary fictions in reaction to the increasingly popular stories about

¹¹⁷ Cf. e.g. Van der Horst 1983; Ruiz Montero 1991a.

Jesus. But Bowersock provides little specific evidence to shore up this big claim and only touches on Chariton.¹¹⁸ To my knowledge, the first scholar who argued more analytically for an influence of the Gospels on Chariton was Carsten Thiede, who also drew a clear conclusion about the date of NAC: it would have been written between AD 30, Jesus' death, and AD 62, Persius' death.¹¹⁹ I say more about the latter date in my discussion of Persius below. The question here is whether Jesus' death, or else the first Gospels, can provide a viable *terminus post quem* for NAC.

Before I consider the evidence in greater detail, it should be noted that Thiede's argument works only with a very early dating of at least some Gospels, preferably John's which provides the closest correspondences to Chariton's text. Such an early date was proposed most prominently by John A. T. Robinson, who placed John at AD 40 to 65.¹²⁰ Most New Testament scholars would not accept this date. The *communis opinio* holds that the Gospel of Mark, arguably the first, was written c. AD 70, and that the other Gospels followed within a few decades. There are, however, two ways of avoiding this chronological problem. The first one, discarded by Thiede himself, has been suggested by Andy Reimer who assumes that Chariton's models were not the written Gospels but oral narratives about Jesus that circulated before.¹²¹ This is a very speculative idea since it takes for granted that some detailed parallels between the Gospels and Chariton were prefigured in oral tales which we will never be able to study and examine. The second way out of the chronological difficulty is to drop the *terminus ante quem* AD 62 for NAC. At the end of the day, I do not think we should do that, but for the time being it is worth a heuristic attempt. If in this manner AD 30 (or AD 70) could be established as a *terminus post quem* we would at least have something to hold on to.

Thiede singled out two passages in Chariton which seemed to be reminiscent of the story of Jesus: first, Chaereas' crucifixion (esp. 4.2.6–7; 4.3.5–6), and second, Callirhoe's empty tomb (esp. 3.3.1–5).

¹¹⁸ Cf. Bowersock 1994, esp. 104–5, 116.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Thiede 1998, 124–34; for the date see 133.

¹²⁰ Cf. Robinson 1976.

¹²¹ Cf. Reimer 2005, esp. 299–304; cf. Thiede 1998, 132.

As to Chaereas' crucifixion,¹²² I do not think that the parallels suggest any influence. The motif of crucifixion in itself is not saying much since crucifixion was an ordinary and familiar punishment. Nor is the fact that Chaereas is crucified together with a number of other apparent wrongdoers—in all there are 16—particularly similar to Jesus' crucifixion together with the two thieves. The best specific parallel is the exhortation *κατάβηθι* ('Come down!') shouted to Chaereas (Ch. 4.3.6) as well as to Jesus (Matt. 27.40) on the cross, but the contexts are very different: while in Chariton Chaereas is pardoned and for this pragmatic reason told to come down from the cross, Jesus—unable to come down—is ridiculed by the bystanders. It is hard to believe on the basis of one word, not surprising given the situation, that Chariton would have 'defamiliarized' the setting of Matthew, as Thiede suggests. His additional idea that Mithridates, who pardons Chaereas, is an 'inversion' of Pilate, who cannot be bothered to pardon Jesus, would only be sound in a larger context of analogues and inversions, absent here.

In the case of Callirhoe's empty tomb,¹²³ however, the parallels are such that direct influence—in one direction or the other—is perhaps not necessary but not improbable either. Again, the general motif of an empty tomb is not remarkable. It could easily have been inspired by real cases of tomb robbery. Tomb-breaking and the removal of corpses were quite frequent in antiquity.¹²⁴ In Aphrodisias alone we have fifty-one inscriptions, from the first to the fourth century AD, which warn against tomb-breaking.¹²⁵ They often include a ban stating that whoever alienates the tomb or removes those who are buried in it 'is to be considered sacrilegious and accursed and a tomb-breaker' (*ἔστω ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἐπάρατος καὶ τυμβωρύχος*). Chariton uses the same word 'tomb-breaker' (*τυμβωρύχος*)—which does not occur in the other novelists—to refer to Theron and his pirates (e.g. 1.9.3; 1.10.5; 1.14.8). Beyond the general motif of tomb-breaking, however, there are a number of specific correspondences between one of the Gospels and Chariton. As in all the Gospels, Chariton's story of

¹²² Cf. Thiede 1998, 128–9; Ramelli 2005, 51.

¹²³ Cf. Thiede 1998, 129–31; Ramelli 2005, 51–2; Reimer 2005, 307–11.

¹²⁴ Cf. G. Klingenberg, 'Grabrecht (Grabmulta, Grabschändung)', *RAC* 12 (1983), 590–638, esp. 617–24.

¹²⁵ Cf. *IAph2007*, index of Greek words s.vv. *τυμβωρύχος* and *τυμβωρυχία*.

the discovery of the empty tomb begins at dawn. The following sequence of events is best paralleled in John (20.1–8): a single person (Chaereas—Mary Magdalene) goes to the tomb and finds that the stone covering the entrance has already been removed; other people (the Syracusans—Peter and the ‘other disciple’) are informed and run to the tomb; one man (a Syracusan—Peter) enters the tomb while the others do not dare to; after that, another one (Chaereas—the ‘other disciple’) goes in to see for himself. In both cases it seems obvious that some people have taken away the corpse (cf. Ch. 3.1.4 and John 20.2, 13, 15). Finally, in a curious analogy to the story of Jesus’ resurrection, Chaereas looks up to heaven, stretches his hands out and asks which of the gods has carried off Callirhoe. Surely this is enough to consider a link between the Gospel of John and NAC. The geographical origins of the authors encourage this idea: John is believed to have written in Ephesus,¹²⁶ which makes him of all Evangelists, as far as our information goes, the one who lived closest to Aphrodisias.

Does this mean we have found a valid *terminus post quem* for NAC? No, because it is not clear why the direction of influence should go from John to Chariton and not the other way round. Perhaps it was precisely the idea that Callirhoe was carried off to heaven that appealed to John and reminded him of the Christian narratives about Jesus. For what it is worth, the single detail from another Gospel which in my view provides an intriguing parallel with Chariton suggests a similar transfer of a pagan element to the Christian world. I am referring to Chariton’s description of the ἄγγελος (‘messenger’) Rumour which spreads word of Callirhoe’s empty tomb. Thiede thinks Chariton’s ἄγγελος depends on the ἄγγελος at Jesus’ tomb (Matt. 28.2), who tells Mary Magdalene and Mary to spread word of the resurrection.¹²⁷ But Chariton’s reference implies classical rather than Christian tradition and is well motivated within NAC. In his phrase ἄγγελος δὲ Φήμη (‘the messenger Rumour’), ἄγγελος is just an epithet of Φήμη. The same phrase occurs in reversed order in 1.5.1 (Φήμη δὲ ἄγγελος). It ultimately goes back

¹²⁶ Cf. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 3.1; Ramelli 2005, 51 with n. 4.

¹²⁷ Cf. Thiede 1998, 130; Ramelli 2005, 52; John (20.12) has two ἄγγελοι in a different function.

to the *Odyssey* (24.413: Ὅσσα δ' ἄρ' ἄγγελος, 'Rumour the messenger') and takes its place in the larger context of Chariton's characteristic use of the motif of Rumour.¹²⁸ And while Chariton's account meshes with its context, the secondary character of the empty tomb story in Mark, probably the first Evangelist, has often been stressed.¹²⁹ If anything, it seems, Chariton—or a (deliberate) misreading of him—could have inspired Matthew to his 'messenger'. Depending on how much emphasis we want to place on the shared motif of an ἄγγελος at the empty tomb, we could go as far as to advance the hypothesis that Chariton helped form the whole Gospel tradition about Jesus' empty tomb. If my final dating is right, chronology backs this idea. However, I have no ambitions here to argue in a general way for the dependence of the Christian empty tomb story on Chariton, although there seems to be some reason to do so. Rather, the example of the ἄγγελος should illustrate how far-reaching a creative reinterpretation of pagan elements could have worked. The occurrence of the single word ἄγγελος might be a coincidence after all and the strongest parallels are still with John. If we leave the ἄγγελος out of account, only a very general setting would remain without John: daybreak, always a good time for an author to start a new episode; an empty tomb, like so many in the real world; and a removed stone, almost inevitable for the empty tomb to be recognized as such. Perhaps it is wrong to play off a complex and extensive tradition of the Gospels against Chariton's single work. Our case may rather be between one individual author and another. My tentative suggestion is that the Synoptic Gospels and Chariton independently developed two different stories of an empty tomb,¹³⁰ and that John used both, the Synoptics and Chariton, for his own version.

Chariton provides the more elaborate and more literary text. More than that, in chapter five I argue that he considered his account of the empty tomb a substantial innovation and a special achievement. My sense is that if the narratives of Chariton and John are indeed related, the latter looks to the former as a more sophisticated model for his

¹²⁸ Cf. below, ch. 7.

¹²⁹ Cf. e.g. Bultmann 1931², 308–10 and 314–15.

¹³⁰ I do not think that both stories are based on common lore, as proposed by Müller 2003, 113–4. The argument is circular since the only documents of such lore are the Gospels and Chariton.

own simpler narrative. There is no dogma that a trickling down of motifs or narrative sequences is a priori more likely than the opposite way from the bottom up. A case for the latter direction of influence could be made for Petronius, who has been thought by some scholars to parody elements found in the Gospels.¹³¹ But here we incur similar chronological difficulties as with Chariton: if we want to see in the Gospels a (written) source for Petronius, we shall have to redate them first. In addition, the direction of influence (if any) remains unclear and outright parody of a new religion might be regarded as a special case. On the other hand, a number of recent studies have argued for the impact of pagan literature, especially epic and tragedy, on the Gospels and on Acts.¹³² In later times there are many examples for pagan prose fictions as models of Christian narratives.¹³³ A prominent case in point is the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies*, two divergent recensions of a Christian novel which the tradition attributes to (pope?) Clement of Rome. This novel, whose *Grundchrift* seems to date to the mid third century AD, clearly depends on motifs of the pagan novel such as shipwreck and separation of the protagonists.¹³⁴ The most remarkable parallel with Chariton is the recognition of the protagonists—Chaereas and Callirhoe in *NAC*, Clement and his mother Mattidia in the Christian novel—precisely on the island of Aradus off the Phoenician coast (Ch. 8.1.5–12 ~ *Homilies* 12.12–24; *Recognitions* 7.12–24).¹³⁵ Considering on the one hand that Aradus does not play any role in other fictional texts, and on the other hand that Chariton's recognition scene takes a very prominent

¹³¹ Cf. e.g. Thiede 1998, 110–21; Ramelli 2005, 41–50 with further literature; the main correspondences in question are: the Cena Trimalchionis as Last Supper; the cock's crow at the end of the Cena (*Sat.* 74.1–3) alluding to the cock's crow at Peter's betrayal; Trimalchio's ointment (77.7–78.4) reminiscent of the Anointing of Jesus in Bethania; cannibalism (141.2) satirizing the Eucharist.

¹³² Cf. assorted contributions in Hock, Chance, and Perkins 1998 as well as in Brant, Hedrick, and Shea 2005. D. R. MacDonald 2000 and 2003 extensively discusses the potential influence of Homer on Mark and Acts; M. Palmer Bonz 2000 that of Virgil on Luke. Cf. for Virgil also Shea 2005; here below, ch. 8, 280–1.

¹³³ For surveys of Christian prose fiction cf. e.g. Pervo 1996; Huber-Rebenich 1999.

¹³⁴ Cf. e.g. Edwards 1992.

¹³⁵ Cf. Salač 1959 who suggests, among other things, a common model; Calvet-Sebasti 2005 provides a number of further parallels in the respective recognition scenes.

place right after his explicit statement of poetics in 8.1.4,¹³⁶ there can hardly be any doubt about Chariton's influence on the Clementine romance.

A number of passages of *NAC* have been suggested as potential models for the apocryphal Acts of John, probably written around AD 200.¹³⁷ A striking case for the Christian adaptation of more or less the whole plot of a novel is the—undated—*Martyrdom of Parthenope*, which I discuss below in my section on *M&P*, an anonymous early novel that I assign to Chariton. And to add at least one example from an author other than Chariton I would like to point to Jan Bremmer's recent argument that the Syrian Christ Bardesanes (154–222; quoted by Porphyry in Stobaeus, *FGrH* 719 F 1) as well as the unknown author of the Acts of Thomas (early third century) made use of Achilles Tatius.¹³⁸ This list of pagan novels impacting on Christian narrative is by no means complete, but it will suffice to make the point that the opposite direction of influence is problematic. Keeping this backdrop in mind and returning to our individual case, a reception of Chariton in John seems more probable than the other way round. At the very least it should be granted that the direction of influence, if any, cannot be determined. There is no good reason why we should make a leap of faith and believe in John or any other Evangelist as Chariton's model. And with that, there is no basis left for establishing a *terminus post quem* of *NAC* with the help of the Gospels.

b) *Plutarch's Theseus*

Edmund Cueva has recently argued for Chariton's dependence on Plutarch's *Theseus* (written between AD 96 and 116) and consequently placed our novelist between AD 116 and 150, the *terminus*

¹³⁶ On this poetics cf. below, ch. 4, 130–7.

¹³⁷ Cf. Junod and Kaestli 1983, ii, 516–20: Acts of John 48.7–8 ~ Ch. 1.4.12–5.1; Acts of John 51.10–11 ~ Ch. 1.5.4–5; two minor—and in my view unlikely—echoes have been added by Lalleman 1997: Acts of John 43.1–2 ~ Ch. 3.3.4; Acts of John 20.14–19 ~ Ch. 3.3.7.

¹³⁸ Cf. Bremmer 1999. In reference to D. U. Hansen 1997, Bremmer also argues for Heliodorus' influence on the Clementine romance—which incidentally would rule out the fourth-century date sometimes considered for Heliodorus.

ante quem given by the papyri.¹³⁹ Cueva bases his result on a number of motifs and phrases in Plutarch's account of Ariadne (*Thes.* 19–20), which he finds echoed in *NAC*. Of the different versions of the story reported by Plutarch, Cueva finds the most parallels with the somewhat peculiar one by the historiographer Paeon of Cyprus who may have written in the third century BC (*FGrH* 757). Paeon relates that, on their escape from Crete, Theseus and Ariadne were driven off course by a storm and pushed to the shores of Cyprus. Ariadne was pregnant at the time. To give her some rest, Theseus set her on the shore while he himself was seeing to the ship. By accident, the ship was borne out to the sea again and Ariadne remained alone on the island. The local women took Ariadne in their care and comforted her by forging letters of Theseus addressed to her. However, Ariadne died before her child was born, and only after that Theseus managed to return. He made a sacrifice to Ariadne and had two statuettes in her likeness set up. The grove in which she was buried was called the grove of Ariadne Aphrodite (cf. *Thes.* 20.2–4).

Chariton at times compares Callirhoe with Ariadne, and he explicitly refers to the latter in four places (1.6.2; 3.3.5; 4.1.8; 8.1.2). It is fair to take a closer look at the myth of Ariadne and see what parallels emerge. As far as Paeon's version is concerned, Cueva makes the following points (which I regroup and mark with numbers):¹⁴⁰

- 1) Callirhoe is pregnant and dies a *Scheintod* ~ Ariadne dies in labour;
- 2) Dionysius sets up a statue of Callirhoe in the temple of Aphrodite at Miletus (Ch. 3.6.3–4) ~ Theseus dedicates two statuettes of Ariadne;
- 3) Dionysius deems Chaereas' letter to Callirhoe a forgery (Ch. 4.5.10) ~ the Cypriot women write forged letters to Ariadne;
- 4) Callirhoe is compared with Aphrodite ~ Ariadne is buried in the grove of Ariadne Aphrodite.

¹³⁹ Cf. Cueva 1996 and 2000. Readers ought not to rely on the mangled account of scholarship in Cueva 2000.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. additionally Cueva 1996, 480–1 for three alleged 'verbal echoes'. The only 'echo' to be just slightly absurd is Ch. 3.5.5 (Chaereas' father implores his son to stay and not to go aboard ship): ὅπως ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ταῖς σαῖς ἀποθάνω· θάψον δέ με καὶ ἄπιθι, 'so that I can die in your arms; then bury me and leave' ~ Plut. *Thes.* 20. 5: ἀποθανοῦσαν δὲ θάψαι μὴ τεκνοῦσαν, '[the Cypriot women] gave her burial when she died before her child was born'.

I do not think that these parallels strongly suggest that Chariton relies on Paeon's account, but they seem worth considering. 1) and 3) are not very precise; in 2), Dionysius models Callirhoe's statue on Aphrodite, not Ariadne who is absent from Chariton's context.¹⁴¹ However, together with 4), and seeing that Cyprus is a stopover in the journey of Chaereas and Callirhoe (8.2.7; although without reference to Ariadne), one could argue that Paeon's narrative somehow contributed to Chariton's occasional comparisons of the new Aphrodite, Callirhoe, with Ariadne. If so, would this have any consequences for Chariton's date? Surely not. Chariton could simply have read Paeon. 'This problem is easily settled', Cueva claims:¹⁴² if Chariton had read Paeon, he would not also have used other versions of the Ariadne myth recounted by Plutarch. Oddly enough, it does not occur to Cueva that Chariton could have read those other versions, too. There could still be a point in the argument if there were something specific to Plutarch's arrangement of various versions of the myth and this would be reflected in Chariton. But this is not the case, and even in the mythological material there is only one seeming parallel that goes beyond the canonical version of the myth and tales that are, according to Plutarch, 'in the mouths of all men':¹⁴³ the Atthidographer Cleidemus (fl. between 378 and 340 BC) writes in his story of Ariadne that a trireme is to be manned with no more than five men—apart from the ordinary crew, we must add. Similarly, in Chariton 3.4.17, Hermocrates enlists five men for the naval expedition to look for Callirhoe. The 'parallel', however, boils down to the historical fact that ancient warships were usually manned with five officers.¹⁴⁴ The argument for Chariton's dependence on Plutarch's *Theseus* could not be any weaker and certainly does not provide a *terminus post quem* for our novel.

¹⁴¹ For Chariton's general interest in statues cf. below, ch. 3, 102–3.

¹⁴² Cueva 1996, 482.

¹⁴³ Plut. *Thes.* 20.2: ἃ δ' ἐστὶν εὐφημότατα τῶν μυθολογουμένων, πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διὰ στόματος ἔχουσιν, 'the most auspicious of these legendary tales are in the mouths of all men'. After this passage follows the 'peculiar' (ἰδιον) account by Paeon.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Miltner 1935, 2031–2; the fact is not lost on Cueva (cf. 1996 n. 9).

c) Virgil's Aeneid

My full argument for Chariton's reception of Virgil's *Aeneid* is extensive and bound up with Chariton's poetics. I lay it out in a separate place, chapters seven and eight, and here only anticipate its major points and draw my conclusion for our chronology. I hold that the *Aeneid* inspired Chariton to a number of responses in phrases and motifs. The most remarkable of these responses is the adaptation of the motif of Rumour which, as far as we know, was introduced as a narrative device by Virgil and which sets Chariton apart from the other ancient novelists. The difference from the kind of dependence proposed by Cueva is that the parallel here—and in a number of further details—is specific and cannot sufficiently be explained by a reference to common sources. Quintino Cataudella, the first scholar who suggested echoes of Virgil in Chariton, did not consider the motif of Rumour and did not draw any conclusions as to Chariton's date. Consuelo Ruiz Montero, however, has rightly pointed out that if we accepted Cataudella's suggestion this would have consequences for our dating of Chariton.¹⁴⁵ As my discussion increases the evidence for Cataudella's case, I am confident enough to draw the chronological consequence and propose that we should accept the date of Virgil's death, 19 BC, as the *terminus post quem* for NAC. This does not dramatically narrow down the possible period of composition since most scholars assign a first or early second century AD date to our novel. The new *terminus post quem*, however, seems to me the most reliable we can get, and it definitely excludes a Hellenistic date still considered by some. There is of course a chance that Virgil depends on Chariton rather than the other way round, but this is unlikely. On the one hand, this scenario conflicts with the linguistic analysis of Ruiz Montero and Hernández Lara. On the other hand (and admittedly more subjectively), the handling of the motif of Rumour in both authors appears to suggest Virgil's chronological priority: while Virgil's motif culminates in an elaborate ecphrasis (4.173–95), this passage finds only a comparatively insignificant verbal correspondence in Chariton. It seems to be more difficult to

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Cataudella 1927; Ruiz Montero 1980, 65; ead. 1994a, 1009. In her survey of 1994, however, Ruiz Montero wrongly attributes a chronological discussion to Cataudella.

extend an in itself unremarkable piece of text to an impressive ecphrasis than to allude briefly to this ecphrasis with a small verbal reminiscence.

d) *Persius' Satires (1.134)*

So far I have discussed debts of Chariton to preceding texts. This can establish a *terminus post quem*. In the case of Persius we have a potential allusion of a later author to Chariton, which may provide a *terminus ante quem*. At the end of his first satire, Persius is talking about the readers he wishes to have. The satirist calls for a demanding audience that appreciates brutal comedy, and he decries petty-minded and farcical taste. The last line is targeted at those weak readers: *his mane edictum, post prandia Callirhoen do*, 'To these I recommend an edict in the morning and Callirhoe after lunch' (134). This line has posed difficulties to scholarship ever since antiquity. The *Commentum Cornuti*, a Carolingian redaction of ancient scholia on Persius,¹⁴⁶ comments on *Callirhoen do*:

... do illis cantandam tragoediam poetae cuiusdam indocti qui Calliroen vel aliquem historiam pueriliter et indocte scripsit. vel ut alii dicunt haec Callirhoe nympa fuit, quam Paris ante Helenae raptum habebat, quae deserta multum dicitur rupti amoris dulce flevisse consortium. hanc comoe-diam scripsit Atines Celer pueriliter. vel certe Calliroe pantomima.

... to those I give a tragedy to recite, by some ignorant poet who childishly and ignorantly wrote *Callirhoe* or a history [perhaps: story]. Or, as others maintain, this Callirhoe was a nymph that Paris had before he abducted Helen. After he left her, she is said to have cried a lot about her broken sweet love. This comedy was childishly written by Atines Celer. Or surely Callirhoe was a pantomime actress.

Apparently, the redactor of the *Commentum Cornuti* put divergent material together and did not bother about the resulting inconsistency of his explanation(s). He happily accounts for 'Callirhoe' as a tragedy, a history, a nymph, a comedy, and a pantomime actress. A constant in this jumble, however, is that 'Callirhoe' is seen as something literary or subliterate. This is clear with the options

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Clausen and Zetzel 2004, 47; generally on the *Commentum Cornuti* Zetzel 2005.

tragedy, history, and comedy; the nymph Callirhoe is given either to the 'ignorant poet' or the comedy of Atines Celer; the links of a pantomime actress with literature, at least a script, are self-evident. It is irrelevant in this context that the information about the story of Callirhoe as a lover of Paris and the name of the poet Atines Celer seem confused or corrupt. A nymph Callirhoe was known as the daughter of the river Scamander in the Troas. She here appears to take the place of Oenone, another Trojan nymph who was really the lover of Paris before he met Helen. And a poet Atines Celer is not only unknown to us, the odd *praenomen* suggests that there was never a person by that name.¹⁴⁷ The only thing that matters for my discussion is that the ancient commentary tradition accounted for Persius' 'Callirhoe' in literary terms.

In early modern and modern commentaries on Persius the literary reading of 'Callirhoe' is continued, but has been challenged by a second interpretation according to which 'Callirhoe' refers to a prostitute. This reading was inaugurated by the first Renaissance commentators (Fontius, Britannicus, Ascensius) and influentially adopted by Isaac Casaubon and Otto Jahn; it did not fare so well with most recent Persius scholars, but has been espoused by Walter Kißel in what is now the standard commentary on Persius' *Satires*.¹⁴⁸ To get an idea of the issue at stake, we must take a closer look at the passage leading up to the last line of our text. Starting from line 127, Persius is sketching the caricatures of two dull readers whom he rejects as an audience for his satires: these imaginary readers are, for one thing (*non hic qui*), a Roman aedile who jeers at Greek dress, makes fun of bodily afflictions, and complacently plies his petty-minded business; for another thing (*nec qui*), a wise guy (*vafer*) who laughs at arithmetic and geometry and is 'ready to take huge delight when a cheeky tart tugs a Cynic's beard' (132–3: *multum gaudere*

¹⁴⁷ Cf. for the story of the nymph e.g. Plum 1827, 175; Buecheler 1879, 346. As to Atines Celer, Buecheler conjectured 'Asinius Celer', just because this was a prominent contemporaneous person (cos. suff. AD 38; friend of the emperor Claudius; later executed by him; cf. *PIR*² A 1225). Herrmann's reading ⟨*I*⟩*atine* ⟨*Publiu*⟩*s Celer* (Herrmann 1975–6, 157) is rendered obsolete by the recent insight that the name of P. Celer (*PIR*² C 625) was in actual fact P. Celerius (cf. Eck 1996). The incorrect form dates back to an emendation of Tacitus' *Annals* (13.1.2; 13.33.1) by Justus Lipsius.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Casaubon 1647³, 167–8; Jahn 1843, 117; Kißel 1990, 285–7. A convenient review of early work on Persius' first satire is given by Hauthal 1833.

paratus, | *si cynico barbam petulans nonaria vellat*). It is this reference to a prostitute in line 133 that has suggested the identification of 'Callirhoe' in line 134 with another prostitute. In Kißel's view, the final line contains a double parallelism: as the edict corresponds to the aedile, so Callirhoe corresponds to the tart. Thus, both types, the aedile and the wise guy, would be hit by the parting shot.

A minor objection to this reading is that the parallelism is not as precise as Kißel claims: the aedile is characterized by something not mentioned before (the edict), while the prostitute of the *vafer* is already introduced. At the same time, the prostitute does not characterize the *vafer* very well. The wise guy was not introduced as a fornicator but as someone stupid who laughs at the expense of philosophers. In the image of the Cynic's beard, the prostitute is accidental rather than essential,¹⁴⁹ and it would be slightly odd if Persius picked up on this detail rather than the main point. Another minor worry is that the term *nonaria* in line 133—probably from the fact that prostitutes were forbidden from working before the ninth hour of the day¹⁵⁰—and the expression of time, *post prandia*, do not square. The *prandium* was usually taken at noon, which is the sixth hour. If Callirhoe were a *nonaria*, the clients that Persius allegedly refers to would have to wait quite long. Or would they really take an extended siesta first, as Kißel suggests?¹⁵¹ Rather, they would visit a prostitute *post cenam*, since the Roman supper started around the ninth hour and is the more usual context for pleasures of all sorts. There are of course examples of Roman sex in the afternoon, the most prominent of which may be Catullus' address to a certain Ipsitilla (32.3 and 10–11): 'bid me come and spend the afternoon with you...for I'm on my bed after lunch, thrusting through tunic and cloak' (*iube ad te veniam meridiatum...nam pransus iaceo, et satur supinus* | *pertundo tunicamque palliumque*). But none of that happens with a *nonaria*. Franz Passow was troubled by this difficulty in Persius and suggested that *prandium* poetically stands for *cena*.¹⁵² But of his examples only one passage from Martial, in

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.133–4 to a Stoic philosopher: 'Mischievous boys pluck at your beard' (*vellunt tibi barbam* | *lascivi pueri*).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. for this etymology Kißel 1990, 284.

¹⁵¹ Kißel 1990, 287.

¹⁵² Passow 1809, 368.

which reference is made to the ‘the meal of savage Tereus’ (4.49.3–4: *prandia | saevi Tereos*), could make a shortlist. Here, however, the focus is not on time—as in Persius’ sequence *mane . . . post prandia*—but on the food itself. What is more, Martial’s word choice seems to be prompted by mere variation, as he goes on: ‘or your dinner, cruel Thyestes’ (4.49.4: *aut cenam, crude Thyeste, tuam*).

A more serious concern is that a prostitute Callirhoe does not sit well with the larger point of the satire, which is the question of Persius’ literary audience, programmatically expressed in line 2: ‘who will read that?’ (*quis leget haec?*). It was arguably this larger point that led the ancient scholiasts to think exclusively of a literary ‘Callirhoe’. Many modern scholars, too, have felt that the rationale of the satire requires a literary reading of the last line.¹⁵³ In the build-up to our passage, Persius states that his ideal reader (126: *lector*) should be one who appreciates the strength of the poets of Old Comedy. By way of contrast, he then presents his caricature of wrong readers. If Persius at the end ‘gives’ (*do*) something to those wrong readers, the context calls for a literary counterpart to Old Comedy. The edict qualifies nicely for this, since it makes for uninspired reading. It is hardly a ‘playbill’, as sometimes translated,¹⁵⁴ but a boring legal text. To complete the punchline, we should expect that ‘Callirhoe’, too, refers to a piece of trivial literature. A prostitute at the very end of Persius’ literary manifesto would fall flat.

Finally, why ‘Callirhoe’? The reading as a prostitute would be easy to accept if ‘Callirhoe’ were either a common name of prostitutes—think, for instance, of the many names of prostitutes in *-ium* found in Plautus: Philaenium (*Asinaria*), Philematium (*Mostellaria*), Astaphium (*Truculentus*), etc.—or the name of one well-known individual representative of the profession. Neither is the case with ‘Callirhoe’.¹⁵⁵ Casaubon and Jahn claimed that Callirhoe was a *famed* prostitute,¹⁵⁶ but that is only their circular conclusion from

¹⁵³ Cf. e.g. Buecheler 1879, 346; Korzeniewski 1970, 430–1; Bramble 1974, 141 with n. 2.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. e.g. S. M. Braund’s Loeb translation of 2004; Kißel 1990, 286 convincingly rejects this reading.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. for this objection already Plum 1827, 176.

¹⁵⁶ Casaubon 1647, 168: ‘nomen id scorti quondam celeberrimi’; Jahn 1843, 117: ‘notum . . . scortum’.

Persius' satire itself. The name Callirhoe was borne by a number of legendary nymphs, by fountains, and by real persons,¹⁵⁷ but there is not a single instance that suggests prostitution. The way Persius places 'Callirhoe' as a catchword at the end of his satire takes for granted that his audience knew what he was referring to, and on current evidence there is no indication that it would have known of a prostitute Callirhoe.

For those reasons, I think, we should stick to a literary reading. Granted that 'Callirhoe' is something literary, we can ask the further question whether *NAC* or something else is referred to. Persius scholarship has traditionally either picked up on the *Commentum Cornuti* and its idea of a cheap theatrical farce, or thought of a melodramatic poem.¹⁵⁸ As to the latter, Persius himself criticizes the authors of such melodrama at an earlier stage in his satire (32–5). He takes the example of Phyllis and Hypsipyle, two heroines of Greek myth, best known to us from Ovid's *Heroides* (2 and 6):

hic aliquis, cui circum umeros hyacinthina laena est,
randidulum quiddam balba de nare locutus
Phyllidas, Hypsipylas, vatium et plorabile siquid,
eliquat ac tenero subplantat verba palato.

Someone with a hyacinth wrap around his shoulders, snorting and lisping some nauseating stuff, filters his Phyllises and Hypsipyles, the typical tear-jerking stuff of bards, tripping up the words on the roof of his delicate mouth.

Persius was visibly not one for tenderness, and bearing this in mind it seems perfectly possible that 'Callirhoe' referred to another sentimental heroine. On the one hand, the context of misdirected humour that immediately precedes the last line of the satire suggests something comic; on the other hand, an edict is not funny either. The last line of the satire might be conceived more generally and pour collective scorn on all the wrong readers Persius has referred to.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *RE* 10.2 (1919), 1668–73; *TLL* Onomasticon 2 (1907–8), 93–4 s.v. Callirhoe; *LGPN* has 8 + 1 occurrences of the form 'Callirhoe' (Καλλιρρόη), plus 2 of 'Callirhoe' (Καλλιρόη).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. e.g. Bramble 1974, 141 who considers both options.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. similarly Bramble 1974, 141: '... intended to conjure up all the disrepute with which Persius has stigmatised Rome's jaded tastes'; Cucchiarelli 2005, 69: '... stands on its own in the manner of an autonomous epigraph'.

Dietmar Korzeniewski pointed out that the last and the first line of the satire form a ring composition: the ‘thesis’ of 1.1, ‘Oh, the cares of humans! Oh, how much vanity is in life’ (*O curas hominum! o quantum est in rebus inane!*) is illustrated in the end by petty-minded business (alluded to with the edict) and trivial entertainment (alluded to with ‘Callirhoe’).¹⁶⁰ We should also take into account that the poets of Old Comedy are not cited because of their sense of humour, but because of what Persius considers their truth and power: in lines 123–4, Eupolis is called ‘bold’ (*audax*), Cratinus ‘angry’ (*iratus*), Aristophanes ‘colossal’ (*praegrandis*). Persius’ divide is ultimately between ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ readers, and any work that denies—farcically or melodramatically—what Persius claims to be the facts of life could be held against the weak audience.

In this light, it is surely conceivable that ‘Callirhoe’ refers to NAC. Buecheler considered Chariton’s heroine among a number of other possible identifications of Persius’ ‘Callirhoe’.¹⁶¹ The first scholar, however, who confidently associated Persius and our novel was Otto Weinreich, who also drew attention to the similar use of the name Callirhoe at the respective endings of the satire and the novel:¹⁶²

Wenn Persius am Ende der ersten Satire auf Charitons Kallirrhoe¹⁶³ anspielt, galt das Werk im Rom Neros schon als Typus einer leichten literarischen Kost für die Siesta nach dem Pranzo. Dafür spricht der Name im Schlußvers der Satire: ‘post prandia Callirhoen do’, wie Chariton sein Werk mit dem Namen der Titelheldin schloß: *τοσάδε περὶ Καλλιρρόης συνέγραψα*.

Karl Plepelits has supported Weinreich’s idea with the suggestion that the original title of the novel was *Callirhoe* rather than *Chaereas and Callirhoe*.¹⁶⁴ I myself argue in chapter six for the title *Narratives about Callirhoe* (*Τὰ περὶ Καλλιρρόην διηγήματα*), but this does not seriously conflict with Plepelits’s idea. The main point is that only the heroine Callirhoe, rather than both lovers, designates the work. Persius, then,

¹⁶⁰ Korzeniewski 1970, 431–2.

¹⁶¹ Buecheler 1879, 346.

¹⁶² Weinreich 1962, 13; cf. preliminary stages of Weinreich’s argument in his afterword to Reymer’s translation of Heliodorus (Reymer 1950, 330–1) and in his remark in Kerényi 1927, 231–2 n. 6.

¹⁶³ For the form of the name cf. below, ch. 6, 214 with n. 29.

¹⁶⁴ Plepelits 1976, 28–30.

could not only have alluded to the protagonist of Chariton's novel, but referred quite precisely to its title.

After Weinreich's and Plepelits's advance a number of influential scholars—among them the two latest Anglo-Saxon editors—have accepted that Persius refers to Chariton.¹⁶⁵ If I am right with my thesis that Chariton is the inventor of the love novel, a contemptuous reference by Persius would make even more sense: it would have been motivated by the sudden appearance of a new form of literature which had no tradition as an art form and clearly catered to the 'weak' audience. The Greek language would not necessarily have been an obstacle:¹⁶⁶ linguistically, *NAC* is comparatively easy reading, and bilingualism spread rapidly in Rome from the first century BC. This extended to many more than just the most highly educated. In the late first century AD, Quintilian recommends that children start learning Greek before Latin (*Inst.* 1.1.12–14). A few decades afterwards, Juvenal (6.187–93) pokes fun at Roman women who love to express their private thoughts and feelings in Greek:

...omnia Graece:
[cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine.]
hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,
hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta. quid ultra?
concumbunt Graece. dones tamen ista puellis,
tunc etiam, quam sextus et octogensimus annus
pulsat, adhuc Graece?

Everything is in Greek. They express their fears and pour out their anger, their joy, their worries, and all the secrets of their souls in this language. What else is there? They get laid in Greek. And though you may allow that in young girls, do you still use Greek when your eighty-sixth year is knocking on the door?

Juvenal's example is significant in our context considering that it comes from another satirist, that a large part of Chariton's novel consists exactly in the expression of Callirhoe's privacy, and that romance has from antiquity to the present day always been perceived

¹⁶⁵ Dihle 1989, 145 and 147; Goold 1995, 4–5; Reardon 1996, 315–17; cf. Reardon 2004a, V; Bowie 2002, 54.

¹⁶⁶ Pace Sinko 1940–6, 108.

as a feminine way of thinking and writing.¹⁶⁷ Judging from that, *NAC* would no doubt have been an excellent butt for the manly satirical voice of Persius. The implied labelling of the weak (male) audience as feminine would have been an additional jeer. Kißel has remarked that the aedile's laughing at Greek shoes in line 127—which may be read as a contempt for Greek dress and, perhaps, Greekness in general—forbids the idea that the wrong audience read Greek.¹⁶⁸ But in line 70 the joke is on poets who dabble in Greek. And when Persius 'gives' Chariton's novel to people of the aedile's ilk, he does not need to mean that they are actual readers at all; he just wants to insult them and tell them that they are miserable wimps.

A reference of Persius to *NAC* is possible and suitable. But did he really make it? A precarious argument in favour might be derived from the *Commentum Cornuti*. Notwithstanding its general confusion, it essentially refers to 'Callirhoe' as only two forms of literature, either a 'drama' (tragedy, comedy, or pantomime) or a 'history'/'story'. Since there was no generic term for 'novel' in antiquity, novels, too, were sometimes referred to as 'drama' (δρᾶμα, *fabula*)—including the names of various subgenres—or 'history' (ἱστορία, *historia*).¹⁶⁹ Perhaps the various guesses of the *Commentum Cornuti* resulted originally from the lack of a proper generic tag for *NAC*. Later scholiasts would then have been at a loss to account for an apparent drama or history 'Callirhoe' and made up their stories about obscure nymphs and poets. But this is of course very speculative.

The best evidence for Persius' reference to *NAC* is the absence of any contrary evidence despite the apparent celebrity of 'Callirhoe'. Arguments from silence are never perfect (and technically always a fallacy), but the way in which Persius takes 'Callirhoe's' fame for granted makes this one comparatively strong. Judging exclusively

¹⁶⁷ Cf. e.g. Egger 1994 for Chariton's 'female feel' and 'romantic appeal'. If only as a curiosity, note in this gender context Goold's idea (1995, 5) of how Persius could have got to know *NAC*: 'Possibly a copy of it had won a place in Persius' home (he lived with his mother, his sister, and his aunt)'. Goold here embroiders a passage from the *Life of Persius* (lines 33–5), transmitted among Suetonius' *Lives*: 'he showed an exemplary devotion to his mother, sister, and aunt' (*Fuit... pietatis erga matrem et sororem et amitiam exemplo sufficientis*).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Kißel 1990, 287 n. 591.

¹⁶⁹ For 'drama' cf. Marini 1991; for 'history' e.g. Longus, praef. 1; Ap. *Met.* 2.12.5; 6.29.3.

from the rationale behind Persius' first satire, it is certainly possible that another kind of perceived trashy literature or theatre is aimed at, perhaps a pantomime, as the *Commentum Cornuti* suggests, or an elegy, as Persius' references to Phyllis(es) and Hypsipyle(s) seem to imply. In this case too, however, we would have to ask ourselves why those works or shows would have been entitled *Callirhoe*, or why their heroine would have carried this name. While we have prominent literary models for Phyllis and Hypsipyle, we know of nothing except *NAC* which could have brought 'Callirhoe' notoriety in Neroian Rome. The subliterate local legends told about fountain nymphs would hardly have been a good target. Literary variations on various Callirhoes other than Chariton's are short and inconspicuous, let alone that they probably postdate Persius.¹⁷⁰ There is another brief reference to one shepherdess Callirhoe in the *Eclogues* of Persius' potential contemporary Calpurnius Siculus (3.25), but if anything this only reinforces the impression that 'Callirhoe' was something, perhaps something erotic, in Nero's Rome.¹⁷¹ And in the end, *NAC* is the only thing that could possibly account for it. It seems therefore that if Persius did not refer to Chariton's novel, he would have referred to something derived from it. In the case of theatre, for instance, we have the parallels of the early novels *Ninus* and *M&P*, which were apparently made into plays.¹⁷² The same could have happened to *NAC*, which would explain the focus on theatrical forms in the *Commentum Cornuti*. And to push this argument one step further: even if Persius referred to a prostitute 'Callirhoe', *NAC* would still be our best guess as to why this name had a particular ring to it, or perhaps was suitable for a double entendre. I for one can well imagine how Chariton's virtuous adulterer would have made the name 'Callirhoe' popular in less virtuous circles. It may be relevant here that among the prostitutes in Martial's epigrams we find a Chione, whose name and purported virginity could be indebted to the heroine of the novel *Chione*, possibly by Chariton, as well as a

¹⁷⁰ Ps.-Aeschin. *Ep.* 10; (Ps.-)Plut. *Am. narr.* 4.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Fey-Wickert 2002, 168–9 with the observation that Calpurnius' Callirhoe is the only character of eclogue 3 which does not belong to the bucolic tradition. Note that there is a controversy about Calpurnius' date, with some arguing for the third century AD.

¹⁷² Cf. below, ch. 3, 84.

Phyllis.¹⁷³ Clearly, if Chariton's portrait(s) of a lady created a sensation in Rome, there would have been a market for obscene parody of his ideal characters.

What does this mean for Chariton's date? I think Goold overstates the case when he says that it 'would be a fantastic coincidence if the satirist were not referring to Chariton's *Callirhoe*'.¹⁷⁴ It is quite possible that our evidence fails us and that there was indeed a prominent literary or subliterate 'Callirhoe' apart from Chariton's. But this is the only one we know of. We do not have any equal or better alternatives. Persius' reference to the novel or something derived from it makes a good point in his satire and fits in with a larger scenario of Chariton writing in the Julio-Claudian era. Therefore, I think we should heuristically accept the date of Persius' first satire as a *terminus ante quem* for NAC. Emil Gaar argued for AD 59 as the date of the first satire,¹⁷⁵ but as Persius did not live to publish his work it seems the safer bet to take his death in AD 62 as the relevant year.

(vi) Conclusion

Virgil's *Aeneid* provides a fairly reliable *terminus post quem* of 19 BC. Persius' reference to a 'Callirhoe' at the end of his first satire should be related to our novel, which gives us a *terminus ante quem* of AD 62. A date under the Julio-Claudian emperors was first considered by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and advocated by a number of scholars such as Perry, Goold, Reardon, and Bowie.¹⁷⁶ The evidence for a later date, favoured for instance by Ruiz Montero and Jones, appears to be significantly weaker in total balance.¹⁷⁷ The suggested time frame agrees with my identification of Chariton's employer, Athenagoras, whose period of public activity falls into the first half of the first

¹⁷³ Chione: Mart. 1.34; 1.92; 3.30; 3.34 (on her name); 3.83; 3.87 (on her 'virginity'); 3.97; 11.60; cf. also Juv. 3.136. Phyllis: Mart. 10.81; 11.29; 11.49; 12.65.

¹⁷⁴ Goold 1995, 5.

¹⁷⁵ Gaar 1909, 235–40.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *et al.* 1912, 258; Perry 1967, 343–4; Goold 1995, 2; Reardon 1996, 317; id. 2004a, V; Bowie 2002, 55.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. e. g. Ruiz Montero 1994a, 1040–1; Jones 1992, 165.

century AD. We may therefore move up the *terminus post quem* to the Christian Era. Finally, if Chariton's reference to influential freedmen around the Persian King alludes to the situation at the court of the emperor Claudius, we would get a likely period of composition from AD 41 to AD 62. All things considered, a mid-first century date seems to me the most probable option.

5. CHARITON'S IMPACT

In the course of my study I will discuss a number of passages in later writers of ideal novels which seem to be dependent on Chariton. It can always be doubted, however, that the passages in question go back directly to Chariton and that they prove his influence. Further hints are needed to make a cumulative case for Chariton's impact and the idea that he was seen as a classic in his own right.

There is a good chance that Chariton was the only Greek novelist to have been explicitly referred to by later authors. One such reference is the passage in Persius discussed above which, however, may be indirect rather than direct. Another one comes as an overt address. The second Philostratus, who wrote in the first half of the third century AD, published the following epigrammatic letter (*Ep.* 66):¹⁷⁸

Χαρίτωνι. Μενήσθαι τῶν σῶν λόγων οἷε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσης· οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ὄντες, ὅποτε εἰσίν, τίνες ἂν εἶεν, ὅποτε οὐκ εἰσίν;

To Chariton. You think that the Greeks will remember your words when you are dead; but those who are nobodies while they exist, what will they be when they exist not?

There is no proof that this Chariton is in actual fact our novelist, who was long dead by the time that Philostratus wrote his letter. But a number of reasons make this reading our best guess. First, we do not know of any other literary person named Chariton. Second, while the hints at Chariton's literary activity remain vague, they would be

¹⁷⁸ Cf. on this passage and its relation to Chariton e.g. Schmid 1899, 2170; Perry 1967, 98–9; Reardon 1991, 46–7; id. 1996, 313–14; Bowie 1994a, 181–2; id. 1994b, 444–5; id. 1996, 102.

appropriate for the novelist. Philostratus' Chariton seems to be a prose author (a writer of *λόγοι*). The novelist Chariton refers in his long recapitulations at the beginning of the fifth and eighth book to his narrative as a *λόγος*: 'this has all been set out in the story—*λόγος*—so far' (5.1.2 and 8.1.1: *ταῦτα ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται*). The fact that the author in these passages uses the singular *λόγος* has led Bryan Reardon even to the idea that the plural *λόγοι* in Philostratus' letter might imply a number of whole novels rather than a number of books in a single work.¹⁷⁹ I find it very likely that Chariton wrote more than one novel, but whether Philostratus is using the term *λόγος* in Chariton's sense is another question which cannot be answered with any confidence. However, there is another, so far unnoticed detail in Philostratus' address, which could be related to the novelist. I have in mind 'Chariton's' apparent claim to distinction which Philostratus ridicules. This might be taken as a swipe at our novelist's explicit and persistent claims to originality, especially considering that they are a hallmark of Chariton which distinguishes him from the other novelists.¹⁸⁰ Finally, a certain worry in the identification of Philostratus' Chariton with ours could be that the addressee would be a dead person. This is not the usual case in the *Letters* but not unparalleled either. The immediately following piece, *Ep.* 67 about an actor, is addressed to one Philemon, who is generally thought to be the celebrated poet of New Comedy (368/60–267/63 BC). Add to this *Ep.* 72 to one Antoninus, probably the emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus 'Caracalla' (AD 188–217), who—judging from Philostratus' overt criticism—was already dead at the time the letter was published.¹⁸¹ Interesting in our context is also *Ep.* 73. While it does not address a dead person, it refers to one as though he were alive. Philostratus asks his patroness Iulia Domna to talk Plutarch (before AD 50—after AD 120) out of his criticism of sophists: 'Then do you too, o queen, please urge Plutarch, boldest of the Greeks, not to take offence at the sophists...' (*πεῖθε δὴ καὶ σύ, ὦ βασίλεια, τὸν θαρσαλέωτερον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Πλούταρχον μὴ ἄχθεσθαι τοῖς σοφισταῖς*).¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Reardon 1991, 47; id. 1996, 313 n. 3.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. below, ch. 5, 164–72.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Perry 1967, 99, and Bowie 1994*b*, 181.

¹⁸² The passages in which Plutarch criticizes sophistic oratory are collected and briefly discussed in Norden 1898, 377, 380–1, and 384 n. 1.

Assuming that Philostratus addresses the novelist Chariton, we can ask two further questions: why would Philostratus have disapproved of Chariton, and what are the larger implications for the status of Chariton in the second half of the third century AD? Perry suggested that Philostratus' censure was typical of a highbrow view of the pre-sophistic Greek novel as a genre for the uneducated masses. Few scholars would today agree with Perry about Chariton's audience. But equally few would deny that Chariton writes in a simpler style and narrative manner than 'sophistic' novelists such as Achilles Tatius, Longus, and Heliodorus. Already Schmid considered that Philostratus rebuked Chariton for his lack of Atticism and sophistic style.¹⁸³ This seems to me plausible. It meshes with Philostratus' general championing of sophists and with his letter to Iulia Domna, in which he defends Gorgias and his sophistic rhetoric against the aspersions of ignoramuses like Plutarch. Moreover, if Philostratus' condemnation was aimed at style, he could easily have exploited a perceived conflict between Chariton's literary practice and his pretentious claims. What Philostratus' attack does of course *not* mean is that Chariton was not read and not appreciated by many of Philostratus' contemporaries: the letter implies quite the opposite, that Chariton was, in the first half of the third century, a well-known author and perhaps the most notable of at least the older ideal novelists. In rejecting Chariton's claim to literary fame, Philostratus implicitly honours him as a classic. His implied construction of Chariton as an arch-novelist could be read as another slight indication that Chariton invented or decisively shaped the form of the ideal love novel.

If Chariton was viewed as an arch-novelist in the early third century AD, we may be more inclined to accept that the name 'Chariton' in a scholastic papyrus (*P. Lit. Palau. Rib.* 37) of the second century AD refers to him. In this papyrus, we read *Χαρίτων* at the end of an alphabetical list of trisyllabic words, in all likelihood compiled for purposes of elementary education. The suggestion that our novelist hides behind this name has first been made by J. O'Callaghan and then in detail by A. Stramaglia.¹⁸⁴ Stramaglia's argument is that

¹⁸³ Cf. Schmid 1899, 2170; similarly, Anderson 1986, 276.

¹⁸⁴ O'Callaghan 1967, 105; Stramaglia 1996a, 129–31; id. 1996b.

lists of this kind usually aim at difficult words from a number of areas, among them literature and history. A writer with a not very common name, then, could be expected. And since our novelist is the only prominent Chariton we know of, it is fair to guess that he is referred to in this papyrus. However, there remains more doubt here than in Philostratus' letter. Chariton is not characterized as a writer and there are no other names in the list which would suggest that its compiler thought of writers. He might have chosen the name simply because it was not very common. The matter would be clearer if we had good evidence that Chariton or any ancient novelist was actually read in schools, but the indications for such a scenario, developed by Stramaglia, seem tenuous to me.¹⁸⁵

In any event, Chariton's work seems to have been read throughout antiquity. To this day, fragments of *NAC* have been found in three different papyrus rolls and one late antique codex. Only Achilles Tatius has more ancient fragments. Chariton was copied at least from the second to the sixth or seventh century AD (the boundaries being marked out by the first papyrus and the late codex). This is a longer span than can be proved for any other ancient novelist. In chapter three I argue for the attribution of *M&P* and *Chione* to Chariton. If this is right, Chariton would not only get ahead of Achilles Tatius in the figure of fragments; his impact would, due to the popularity of *M&P*, have given rise to mosaics, theatrical plays, a Christian legend and a Persian epic. Chariton would be the most influential novelist in the Graeco-Roman world until his temporary eclipse at Byzantium. It seems to me that this vigorous *Nachleben* in antiquity (and partly beyond) would not have been that of any early novel writer, but that of the creator of the ideal novel himself. Karl Kerényi remarked that the name of Chariton's hero, Chaereas, is echoed in the tradition of the ancient novel:¹⁸⁶ we have 'Chaereas', 'Chaerephon', and 'Charmides' in Achilles Tatius; 'Chaeremon', 'Charicles', 'Charicleia', and 'Charias' in Heliodorus. Add to this 'Charite's' love story in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. Would it be all too absurd to hear an echo of 'Chariton', too, in those names?

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Stramaglia 1996a.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Kerényi 1927, 171 n. 72.

Other early novelists

1. THE OTHERS

Who are Chariton's 'competitors' for the distinction of being the first ideal novelist? A few scholars have suggested that Xenophon of Ephesus preceded Chariton or that it was he who wrote the first love novel. I therefore discuss Xenophon's case, but not extensively since it is weak and many arguments against it have already been made. More challenging are a number of fragments that have been put earlier than Chariton or in the same period. They have encouraged the widespread idea that a novelistic tradition was established long before Chariton. Two groups of fragments may be distinguished here, a first—comprising *M&P* and *Ninus*—, characterized by substantial amounts of text and clear indications of an early date; and a second—including fragments such as *Sesonchosis*, *Chione*, and *Calligone*—, characterized by scanty transmission and no compelling suggestion of an early date. A discussion of the second group would be extremely speculative and disappointingly inconclusive. For this reason I do not consider it in my argument, with the exception of an excursus on *Chione* which I attribute to Chariton. The novel about the legendary Egyptian king Sesonchosis is the only example of the second group which has been considered to predate Chariton. There is a notion that *Sesonchosis*, like *Ninus*, represents an early stage of the ideal love novel that focuses on 'historical' rulers. But our fragments of *Sesonchosis* are only from the third to fourth centuries AD, and I argue later that the supposition of royal romance as a first stage of the ideal novel is groundless. While there is a chance that *Sesonchosis* is as old as *Ninus*, it might equally be a late

imitation.¹ This is not least suggested by its setting in Egypt. The Egyptian setting is untypical of demonstrably early novels such as *Ninus*, *NAC*, or *M&P*. In all these novels, Persia rather than Egypt constitutes the exotic backdrop. There was a time when scholars thought they had found the Egyptian origins of the Greek love novel.² In particular, Greek translations of shorter Egyptian narratives such as the *Dream of Nectanebo*, dated as early as the third century BC, were adduced as forerunners of the ideal novels. But this time is long gone and it has been persuasively argued that the Egyptian narratives in question are, in literary aspiration, style, and content, a world apart from Greek romance as we know it.³ There is no reason on this front either to connect *Sesonchosis* with the origin of the ideal novel.

The first group of fragments, however, must be closely scrutinized. Fragments of *M&P* and *Ninus* make it clear that both novels were written before the second century AD. More than that, both must have had a considerable impact as we can see from the fact that they inspired plays and mosaics.⁴ These spin-offs of our novels can even be found together in two different places, one literary, another archaeological. As regards the literary place, Lucian imagines the tongue of an actor reproaching the latter in the *Pseudologista* (25):

Ἐγώ σε, ὦ ἀχάριστε, πένητα καὶ ἄπορον παραλαβοῦσα καὶ βίου δεόμενον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐποίησα, νῦν μὲν Νίνον, νῦν δὲ Μητίοχον, εἶτα μετὰ μικρὸν Ἀχιλλέα τιθείσα.

Ingrate, I took you under my protection when you were poor and hard up and destitute of support, and first of all I made you successful in the theatre, making you now Ninus, now Metiochus, and then presently Achilles.

The archaeological place is a villa at Daphne near Antioch on the Orontes, in the Roman province of Syria. There, mosaics depicting the protagonists of both novels were found: Ninus lies on a bed and holds a portrait of a woman, probably Semiramis, in his hand; Metiochus and Parthenope are standing as the latter approaches him with her arm outstretched. It is not evident whether these

¹ Cf. S&W 248.

² Cf., most influentially, Barns 1956.

³ Cf. e.g. S&W 12–18; Reeve 1971, 537; Ruiz Montero 1996b, 146–50.

⁴ Cf. for the plays Luc. *Pseud.* 25; *Salt.* 2 and 54; two mosaics of *M&P* and two of *Ninus* have been found, cf. Quet 1992 for a detailed discussion.

theatrical and art-historical adaptations rely on the novels or only attest to the characters' general popularity. But the novels are our earliest evidence for a major adaptation and it seems to be good reason to locate the origin of the popularity in them. If so, both *M&P* as well as *Ninus*, enjoyed a special status with early readers. Stephens and Winkler gather from these circumstances that they might have been the first Greek love novels ever.⁵ At any rate, they deserve a close examination.

2. XENOPHON OF EPHESUS

I do not consider Xenophon at Ephesus at length because his chronology and relation to Chariton have often been discussed and I have no more than some details to add. I take it for granted here that our version of Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* is more or less the original text and not an epitome as was suspected by Rohde and argued for in detail by Bürger.⁶ Sinko, Hägg, Ruiz Montero, and O'Sullivan have abundantly shown that the epitome theory rests on flawed assumptions.⁷ There remain some doubts about parts of the text and a serious problem with the incredibly short fourth book, but this should not bother us in the present context.

Ever since the papyrus finds of Chariton fundamentally changed our chronology of the ideal novels, most scholars have agreed that he precedes Xenophon. For a long time, the only challenge to this came from the 'ritualists': Kerényi, Merkelbach, and Petri identified the origin of the ideal novel in mystery cults and placed the 'religious' Xenophon earlier than the 'worldly' Chariton.⁸ There is no need to deal with this outdated approach here. A more recent and more serious case for the priority of Xenophon has been made by James O'Sullivan, who dates Xenophon to c. AD 50, before Chariton and

⁵ Cf. S&W 81.

⁶ Cf. Rohde 1914³ (1876), 429; Bürger 1892*b*.

⁷ Cf. Sinko 1940–46, 113–14; Hägg 1966; Ruiz Montero 1982; O'Sullivan 1995, 100–39.

⁸ Cf. Kerényi 1927, e.g. 232–3; Merkelbach 1962, 339–40; Petri 1963.

Petronius' apparent parody of the young genre; Chariton to c. AD 55, before Persius 1.134 and Petronius.⁹ O'Sullivan argues that the formulaic character of the *Ephesiaca* reflects its closeness to an oral tradition of storytelling and marks the birth of the ideal novel as a genre. Oddly, O'Sullivan gives no more than a footnote¹⁰ to *Ninus*, which he considers a different type of writing, and never even mentions *M&P*. His basic assumption that Xenophon's formulaic style indicates a linear development of the ideal novel out of oral folklore has met with scepticism.¹¹ It has been objected that formulas are not exclusive to oral composition and that oral prose narratives need not be formulaic. If the formulaic character of O'Sullivan's comparative example of Irish folk tales is really a result of orality—rather than of writing them down—they are still one isolated case in a different and later culture. To establish a valid link between formulaic character and orality in prose, we would need a larger basis of material. Furthermore, in cultures where writing has long been established, 'orality' is an elusive category: it is a literary quality, too, which can be deliberately sought by writers. An air of 'orality', for instance, is a hallmark of the stylistic ideal of *ἀφῆλεια*, highly esteemed in the Second Sophistic.¹² The central model for this style was Xenophon of Athens who clearly inspired the later novelists on a number of different accounts. It is true that the historian Xenophon as well as the leading authors of the Second Sophistic do not write as formulaically as the novelist Xenophon, but both the more sophisticated and the more simple 'oral' style can be seen as literary realizations of a stylistic idea of 'orality'. For what it is worth, at the end of this section I will put Xenophon together with some comparatively late authors whose style is nonetheless strongly reminiscent of our novelist.

⁹ Cf. O'Sullivan 1995, 168–70.

¹⁰ Cf. O'Sullivan 1995, 166 n. 39.

¹¹ Cf. esp. the reviews of M. Weissenberger in *GGA* 248 (1996), 176–91; J. R. Morgan in *JHS* 116 (1996), 199–200; and C. Ruiz Montero in *Gnomon* 71 (1999), 303–6.

¹² On Xenophon of Ephesus, the tradition of 'oral' prose style, and *ἀφῆλεια* cf. e.g. Ruiz Montero 2003a; ead. 2003c, esp. 97–9. Cf. also Goetsch 1985 for the modern concept of *fingierte Mündlichkeit*.

Speaking of Xenophon of Athens, the name 'Xenophon' of Ephesus itself poses a problem to O'Sullivan's thesis. It is widely held that the author of the *Ephesiaca* chose 'Xenophon' as a pen name to establish a link with the historian Xenophon and exploit his authority. The fact that the Byzantine encyclopaedia, Suda, lists our Xenophon among three other 'historians' (ἱστορικοί) named 'Xenophon'—they all might in fact be novelists—seems to point to a pattern behind this choice of name. If our Xenophon looked to the eminently literary model of Xenophon of Athens this would conflict with O'Sullivan's folkloristic account. O'Sullivan consequently rejects the idea that the author of the *Ephesiaca* himself—or anyone else on his behalf—picked the pen name 'Xenophon' in order to associate the *Ephesiaca* with Xenophon of Athens. To avoid this conclusion, O'Sullivan paints the strained scenario that the name 'Xenophon' was mechanically transferred from a later novelist Xenophon—perhaps one of those we know from the Suda—to the anonymous *Ephesiaca*. This would have happened, for instance, because the *Ephesiaca* might have been found together with the work of the other novelist Xenophon in the same collection of love novels.¹³

Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* may not be a great work of art, but it is too literary a text to regard as a direct outgrowth of oral folklore. Whatever we may think about 'Xenophon' as a potential pen name, the author's debt to the *Cyropaedia* is hard to deny—even the names of the protagonists, 'Anth(e)ia' and 'Habrocomes' seem to be a deliberate reminiscence of 'Panthea' and 'Abradates', the romantic couple of the *Cyropaedia*.¹⁴ The sheer length and complexity of the *Ephesiaca* is not what one usually associates with folktale. Xenophon carefully places two extended *mises en abymes* at the beginning of books (3.1–3 Hippothous' story; 5.1.4–11 Aegialeus' story) and inserts epistles into his story. He seems to betray a smattering of Aristotle's *Poetics* when Anthia's theatrical fit of epilepsy provokes 'pity and fear' (5.7.4: ἔλεος ἄμα καὶ φόβος). At the end the protagonists dedicate a self-referential epigraph (γραφὴν) in which 'all their sufferings and all their adventures' are written down (5.15.2: πάντα

¹³ Cf. O'Sullivan 1995, 1–2.

¹⁴ Cf. Capra 2009.

ὅσα τε ἔπαθον καὶ ὅσα ἔδρασαν).¹⁵ There is no such concern with writing in Chariton, whose novel ends with a long oral recounting of the story. O'Sullivan acknowledges oral elements in Chariton, too. In one place¹⁶ he even suggests, quite inconsistently, that both authors may draw on a common oral tradition and that in this respect Chariton might well precede Xenophon. I am not suggesting that Chariton precedes Xenophon because he is more 'oral', but one can see that the category of orality is useless in our case. Nor is there any verisimilitude in the notion that the more episodic and less coherent *Ephesiaca* constitutes an older stage in the development of the ideal novel. Xenophon's negligence in piecing his episodes together might as well be considered a sign of his being a hanger-on. Many scholars have noticed a lack of compositional unity in the *Ephesiaca*. Tomas Hägg has pointed out that it was precisely this imperfect integration of Xenophon's material(s) that gave rise to the idea of an epitome.¹⁷ Bryan Reardon picks up on this common view to turn O'Sullivan's thesis upside down. He argues that Chariton's success encouraged Xenophon to repeat the narrative formula of the Aphrodisian author with different material, that is with a wealth of folk tales and legends.¹⁸ The discrepancy between the model, which told a newly invented and coherent story, and Xenophon's material, consisting of a number of already existing novellas, would have resulted in an overly episodic novel and a number of loose ends.

Clearly, O'Sullivan is right to scrap the often cited reference to the office of an 'eirenarch' of Cilicia (ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ προεστώς) in XE 2.13.3 and 3.9.5 as an apparently reliable *terminus post quem*.¹⁹ This fictional office corresponds to the epigraphically attested office of an eirenarch of Asia Minor. Earlier scholarship was inclined to identify or closely relate the date of our first attestation of the eirenarchy of Asia Minor with the date of its establishment. But while currently our first attestation is from the reign of Trajan, the office could well have existed earlier. At the same time, O'Sullivan's

¹⁵ Cf. further inscriptions at 1.12.2; 5.10.6; 5.11.5–6.

¹⁶ Cf. O'Sullivan 1995, 169–70 n. 48.

¹⁷ Hägg 1966, 139–41.

¹⁸ Reardon 2004*b*, e.g. 189.

¹⁹ Cf. O'Sullivan 1995, 4–9; further Rife 2002.

suggestion that the eirenarchy in Asia Minor existed at least as early as the reign of Tiberius does not hold water.²⁰ As far as Xenophon's chronological relation to Chariton is concerned, however, a number of parallels in motifs and language suggest that the former rather than the latter is the borrower.²¹ Perhaps most convincing is Ch. 3.5.4 ~ XE 1.14.4: in Chariton, Chaereas takes leave of his parents before he goes aboard ship to search for Callirhoe; his old and ailing father beseeches him to stay so he can die in the arms of his son and be buried by him; similarly, his mother implores Chaereas to take her with him and throw her into the sea if she threatens to become a burden. This is certainly melodramatic. But the corresponding scene in Xenophon is grotesque: the ship of Habrocomes and Anthia is captured by pirates and set on fire; they take the couple on their trireme and leave the rest of the crew dying on the burning ship; then, we see how Habrocomes' old tutor (τροφεύς) despairs over being left behind by his pupil, throws himself into the sea and implores Habrocomes—who is detained on the ship of the pirates—to kill and bury him. The dependence of one author on the other is corroborated by linguistic parallels, for instance the respective entreaties of father and tutor: Ch. 3.5.4: 'Why are you abandoning me now, my child, a half-dead old man' (τί [τίνι MS] νῦν με καταλείπεις, ὦ τέκνον, ἡμιθνήτα πρεσβύτην) ~ XE 1.14.4: 'Why are you abandoning me, my child, an old man, your tutor' (τί [ποῖ MS] με καταλείπεις [καταλείψεις MS], τέκνον. . . τὸν γέροντα, τὸν παιδαγωγόν). Evidently the scene makes better sense in Chariton's context than in Xenophon's: Habrocomes is not leaving, he is being abducted, and with the best will in the world he could not stay and bury (!) his tutor in the sea, not to mention the idea that he should kill him first. If we have a case like this it seems reasonable to regard the well-motivated context as the original and the badly motivated as the unsuccessful adaptation. And in fact, the impossible request of Xenophon's tutor looks very much like a conflation of the pleas of father and mother in Chariton, referring to burial and killing respectively. O'Sullivan

²⁰ Cf. O'Sullivan 1995, 6–7 and the criticism of Rife 2002, 104 n. 64.

²¹ Cf. esp. Papanikolaou 1964; id. 1973, 153–9; O'Sullivan 1995, 145–70 answers to Papanikolaou, but cannot, in my view, refute him; cf. further examples in Garin 1909, 423–9; Sinko 1940–6, 111–12; Gärtner 1967, 2081–5; Reardon 2004*b*, esp. 184–5.

rightly notes that this reasoning *can* be treacherous, but in absence of any indication to the contrary there is no need to doubt it. Surely O'Sullivan's own suggestion that Chariton smoothed out Xenophon's imperfect original is no easier to accept.

The sense that Xenophon is later than Chariton gains even more probability considering the former's efforts to write Atticist Greek.²² While Chariton's language is usually described as *koinē* with Atticist influences, Xenophon is considered to aim more generally at Atticist Greek. L. J. López Jordán has underpinned this appraisal with statistical evidence, which comes out at 16% of genuine Atticisms in Xenophon's vocabulary,²³ compared to 9.5% in Chariton's. This suggests that Xenophon worked in a literary milieu permeated to a higher degree by the ideal of Atticism than Chariton's, and the obvious explanation for this would be that the Atticist movement, which reached its height in the second century AD, was more advanced in Xenophon's time than in Chariton's. There are of course a number of ways to minimize the significance of the linguistic evidence, but all that has been offered here by O'Sullivan are *ad hoc* (and in part mutually exclusive) conjectures:²⁴ that Xenophon's Atticism may in actual fact be the work of a later redactor; that Chariton's homeland Caria might have been too isolated to pick up new linguistic tendencies quickly; that Chariton could deliberately have chosen a less Atticist style; and that even the greatest Atticists do not always write Atticist Greek. The least problematic of these ideas seems that regarding personal style, but in fact the apparently folksy Xenophon would have less good reason than any other novelist to choose Atticist language. And while for each of the other objections a case could be imagined, they remain dim possibilities and can hardly detract from the likelihood that Atticism in our case has something to say about relative chronology.

Unless new evidence appears, Xenophon should be placed later than Chariton. The main arguments for this are apparently borrowed motifs and phrases as well as Xenophon's Atticist language. The

²² Cf. esp. Mann 1896; later e.g. Gärtner 1967, 2071–2; Ruiz Montero 1994b, 1118–19.

²³ Cf. López Jordán 1999 (reported in Ruiz Montero 2003a, 59–60).

²⁴ Cf. O'Sullivan 1995, 97–8 and 168 n. 44.

question *how much* later is not very relevant here and would require a study of its own. Ewen Bowie has suggested that the embalming of Thelxinoe by her husband Aegialeus, of which we read in XE 5.1.9–11, might have been inspired by the embalming of Poppaea by Nero in AD 65 (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 16.6). This notorious event surely caused ripples throughout the Empire and perhaps provides us with a *terminus post quem* of AD 65.²⁵ But a similar reasoning could encourage us to regard Nero's kicking of Poppaea as the model for Chaereas' kicking of Callirhoe, which I do not think we should do.²⁶ My own, unconventional, view is that we should consider putting Xenophon much later than Chariton, after Achilles Tatius and perhaps even after Heliodorus, in the late second or early third century AD. The question is not important enough in the present context to revisit Garin's argument for a dependence of Xenophon on Heliodorus, or Witt's reference to the political concord (*ὁμόνοια*) between Ephesus and Alexandria under Gordian III (AD 238–44).²⁷ The latter resulted, among other things, in the minting of coins showing Isis and Artemis, the most prominent goddesses in Xenophon's *Ephe-siaca*, together. I restrict myself to three additional observations. First, the so called *Anthia* fragment, which dates to c. AD 175 and seems to be related to the *Ephe-siaca*, might as well precede as follow the latter. Second, in the late second or early third century AD, Xenophon would not seem an isolated case but part of a group of stylistically similar prose fictions such as *Apollonius of Tyre* and the Greek originals of the so called Troy romances of Dictys and Dares. These texts are transmitted in late Latin redactions, from the fourth to sixth centuries AD. A Greek model is certain for Dictys' Troy romance, Greek fragments of which have survived on a papyrus from the second to third centuries AD. Bowersock confidently places Dictys' romance under Nero because its *Beglaubigungsapparat* claims that it was brought to Nero's notice while he was visiting Greece.²⁸ But this is more likely to be part of the fiction. In any event, the case of Dictys suggests a Greek model for Dares, too, who is usually placed

²⁵ Cf. Bowie 2002, 57.

²⁶ Cf. above, ch. 2, 47–9.

²⁷ Cf. Garin 1909, 442–6 and 458–9; Witt 1971, 244.

²⁸ Cf. Bowersock 1994, 23.

after Dictys, perhaps in the early third century AD.²⁹ With *Apollonius of Tyre*, there is considerable dispute over the question of a Greek original, but this does not necessarily affect the date of the work. Schmeling deems it a Latin original and places it in the early third century AD; Kortekaas, in my eyes more convincing, argues for a Greek original in the same period.³⁰ All these long prose fictions share a skeleton narrative style with Xenophon of Ephesus, and all of them have, like Xenophon, been regarded as epitomes. Especially *Apollonius of Tyre* provides a close parallel, for here not only is the style of the work redolent of Xenophon but there is also a striking overlap in plot, characters, and motifs—including, for instance, a preoccupation with inscriptions and an act of writing up the story in the end. Alexander Riese, the first Teubner editor of *Apollonius of Tyre*, went so far as to consider Xenophon its author.³¹ Finally, a third reason for a late date for the *Ephesiaca* might be Kerényi's observation that the geography of Xenophon's fictional world is more inclusive than that of any other novelist and seems to be a 'summary' or a 'best of' of locations of previous novels (although it must be said that Persia is conspicuously absent).³² There is no doubt that those are 'soft' criteria, but in the absence of better ones they may still give a sense of orientation.

3. METIOCHUS AND PARTHENOPE

M&P has always been placed early, not necessarily because of the papyri, from the second century AD and later, but on cultural and linguistic grounds. The most detailed argument is Albrecht Dihle's, which takes Antonios Papanikolaou's study of Chariton as a starting point.³³ Papanikolaou finds an almost complete absence of Atticism

²⁹ Cf. on Dictys and Dares Merkle 1989 and Beschorner 1992.

³⁰ Cf. Schmeling 1996*b*, 528–38; Kortekaas 2004, 63–72.

³¹ Cf. Riese 1893², XVI; further on the parallels between Xenophon and *Apollonius of Tyre* e.g. Rohde 1914³ (1876), 440–1; Merkelbach 1962, 161–71; Ruiz Montero 1983–4; Schmeling 1996*b*, 534 and 541–2.

³² Cf. Kerényi 1927, 48 and 234.

³³ Cf. Papanikolaou 1973; Dihle 1978.

in Chariton and puts him in the middle or the second half of the first century BC. I have discussed the objections to this in chapter two. Dihle suggests on the one hand that the classical setting of both NAC and *M&P* dovetails with the renaissance of classicism under Augustus; on the other hand that there is a lack of Atticism in the language of *M&P*, too. However, similar objections, apply as in the case of Chariton. Bowie, who explicitly answers Dihle, has pointed out that *M&P* shares a number of linguistic characteristics with later novelists.³⁴ Dihle's idea that Augustan optimism³⁵ rather than Perry's Hellenistic pessimism was the cultural background of the first novels is refreshingly unconventional. But if the ideal novel thrived on cultural optimism, the specific optimism of first-century Aphrodisias seems a better fit than 'Augustan' optimism in general, although the latter was surely to some extent a condition of the former.

The notion of an early date for *M&P* is now confirmed by an unusual piece of evidence: a small pottery fragment from Egypt, inscribed with a text that seems either to come from *M&P* or to take its existence for granted. The reference to some kind of narrative about Metiochus and Parthenope is clear from the fact that the names of both protagonists occur in a total of eight reasonably preserved lines (*O. Bodl.* 2175, lines 2–9):

... Παρ-

[θ]ενόπη, καὶ τοῦ σοῦ

[Μ]ητιόχου λήσμων

[ε]ῖ· ἐγὼ μὲν, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας

[ἀ]πῆλθες, ὥσπερ ἀνα-

κεκολλημένων ἱξῶ

τῶν ὀμμάτων ὅ-

πνον οὐκ[...]

Parthenope, are you forgetful of your Metiochus? From the day you [left], as if my eyes were glued fast, without sleep...

Michael Gronewald has assigned these lines to *M&P* and suggested that they form part of a letter of Metiochus to Parthenope. Stephens and Winkler point out that, considering what we know about the

³⁴ Cf. Bowie 2002, 52–3.

³⁵ Cf. Dihle 1978, 54.

plot of *M&P* (which is, however, not enough to be confident here), the context of such a letter would be obscure. They are more inclined to think of a soliloquy or, on the grounds of the ephemeral writing surface and the fact that Metiochus and Parthenope are known to have been a pantomime subject, of 'a derivative composition, perhaps related to rhetorical exercise, or a quotation of a famous line from a stage performance'.³⁶ It seems to me that a case could also be made for an apparition of Metiochus in Parthenope's dreams. This is at least suggested by the somewhat reproachful tone of Metiochus' address, reminiscent of Patroclus' reproach in Achilles' dream at *Il.* 23.69: 'You sleep, Achilles, and you have forgotten me' (εὐδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμείο λελασμένος ἔπλεν Ἀχιλλεύ). In both passages the 'forgetfulness' is expressed by a form or derivative of the verb *λανθάνειν*, and the same Homeric scene is used by Chariton when Chaereas appears in Callirhoe's dream at 2.9.6. However that may be, all readings of our lines imply that the novel already existed at the time the pottery fragment was written. This fragment has first been dated by Guglielmo Cavallo to the first decades of the first century AD.³⁷ A later examination by Dirk Obbink extends the chronological range to the second half of the first century AD.³⁸ On palaeographical grounds, then, *M&P* could have been written before, at the same time, or after *NAC*. But *M&P* is in general character and style so close to *NAC* that it seems appropriate to place both works in the same period. This is what Dihle did on a different time frame. However, the parallels are such that I go a step further and suggest that Chariton himself is the author of *M&P*, something which a number of scholars have considered before.

Perhaps the most obvious parallel between *M&P* and *NAC* is their 'historical' technique. They employ the same method of creating a historical setting in which their fictions are played out. Both stories are set in classical Greece; both make the historical actions and persons, with considerable liberty of adaptation, a backdrop to a fictional narrative about largely fictional protagonists. The main figures of the historical accounts—the tyrant Polycrates of Samos in *M&P*; the Syracusan general Hermocrates in *NAC*—take supporting

³⁶ S&W 93.

³⁷ Cf. Cavallo in Stramaglia 1996a, 123–4.

³⁸ Cf. Obbink in Bowie 2002, 54.

roles in the novels. In turn, the background characters of history move centre stage. More than that, in both novels it is precisely the anonymous daughter of the respective leaders who is assigned a name and the leading part.³⁹ Tomas Hägg has argued that with this narrative technique *M&P* and *NAC* anticipate the modern idea of 'historical novel' usually traced back to Walter Scott.⁴⁰ In the history of the ancient novel, however, this technique separates *M&P* and *NAC* from *Ninus*. While *Ninus* is set in a distant historical past, this past is not that of classical Greece. The heroes of history, Ninus and Semiramis, are identical to the heroes of the novel, albeit their characters are given romantic traits.

But the parallels between *M&P* and Chariton go far beyond their literary approach to history. There is a large number of parallels in motifs and style, of which I here discuss only the most remarkable examples. Many of the motif parallels would escape us if we had to rely exclusively on the scarce fragments of *M&P*. But the exceptional *Nachleben* of *M&P* beyond the borders of Greek culture, explored by Tomas Hägg and Bo Utas, provides significant clues to a reconstruction of the plot. I am referring to two major literary adaptations: on the one hand a Christian legend of the martyrdom of St Bärtānubā ('Parthenope'), extant in Arabic and fragmentarily in Coptic, but probably first written in Greek; on the other hand a fragmentary Persian epic poem entitled *Vāmiq u 'Adhrā* (*Vāmiq* and *'Adhrā*), by the court poet Abu'l-Qāsim 'Unṣurī (c. AD 970–1040).⁴¹ Neither of these texts is a translation or a precise rewriting of *M&P*. The novel undergoes considerable changes through Christianization and different cultural horizons. But setting, plot, and many details are so similar that there can be no doubt that these adaptations essentially tell the same story as *M&P*.

To start with the female protagonist and her lovers: not only is Parthenope, like Chariton's Callirhoe, the daughter of a Greek leader; in *MSP*, she also has two prominent suitors apart from her actual love (Christ), namely the emperor Constantine and the Persian King. The

³⁹ Cf. for the daughter of Polycrates Hdt. 3.124; for the daughter of Hermocrates Diod. Sic. 13.96.3 and Plut. *Dion* 3.1.

⁴⁰ Cf. Hägg 1987.

⁴¹ The texts are presented in Hägg and Utas 2003; cf. Hägg 1984 for additional details on the Christian legend.

same goes for Callirhoe who apart from her Chaereas has to cope with the advances of Dionysius, the leading man in Miletus, and the Persian King. In both cases, the first suitor belongs to the same cultural context as the heroine (Constantine is Christian; Dionysius Greek) and acts in a comparatively restrained manner. Both Constantine and Dionysius have to put up with a (kind of) first marriage of the heroine: Constantine respects Parthenope's marriage to Christ and lets her go; Dionysius takes more action to keep Callirhoe away from Chaereas, but he puts his fate in her hands and never threatens her. One of the several manuscripts of *MSP* provides particularly novelistic readings in a number of places.⁴² In this manuscript we find a description of how Constantine—like Dionysius in *NAC*—maintains his composure in the face of a characteristic 'fire of love' which is sent by his adversary, burns in his heart, and almost kills him: 'The devil kindled the fire of love for her in the Emperor's heart, to the point that he was going to die of his passion for her'. In the corresponding passages of *NAC* first the narrator tells us that Eros inflames Dionysius' heart: 'Eros . . . fanned to greater heat the blaze in a heart that was trying to be rational about love (2.4.5: Ἐρως . . . ἐπυρπόλει σφοδρότερον ψυχὴν ἐν ἔρωτι φιλοσοφούσαν). Then Dionysius cries out to his steward Leonas, who introduced Callirhoe to him: 'I am finished . . . You brought fire into my house—or rather into my own heart . . .' (2.4.7: ἀπόλωλα . . . πῦρ ἐκόμισας εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν).⁴³ Back to the 'vulgate' manuscript tradition, the sleeplessness of the Persian king in *MSP* (8.5) finds a parallel in the sleeplessness of King Artaxerxes in *NAC* (6.1.6–12). Similarly, Dionysius in Ch. 2.4.2–10 and Metiochus in our pottery fragment of *M&P* suffer from lack of sleep. Finally, a fragment of *V&A* provides a remarkable parallel for Callirhoe's outrage at an erotic advance in *NAC*. In both texts, the advance is made precisely by a male go-between, and in both the heroine shows—or thinks

⁴² Beirut, Oriental Library 614, pp. 357–69. On this (unedited) manuscript cf. Hägg 1984, 87 n. 27; Hägg and Utas 2003, 66 and 73 n. 140.

⁴³ Cf. Hägg 1984, 67–8 who refers to a number of similar passages in various Greek novels, but considers Chariton's the 'most complete and structurally relevant parallel' (67).

of—the same strong reaction.⁴⁴ In *V&A* (PT 48)⁴⁵ we read: ‘Adhrā leaped upon him like a furious lion; she struck with the hand and scratched out the eye of Adānūsh’. The same would have happened to the eunuch Artaxates, if Callirhoe had not had second thoughts (Ch. 6.5.7): ‘Callirhoe’s first impulse was to dig her nails into the eyes of this would-be pimp and tear them out if she could’ (*Καλλιρόη δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὄρμησεν, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύξαι τοῦ διαφθείροντος αὐτήν...*). In view of these parallels one might think that *M&P* conflated *M&P* and *NAC* rather than adapted just the former. However, that part of *M&P* was indeed—like *NAC*—set in Persia is confirmed by Lucian’s reference to a Parthenope pantomime in *De saltatione* 54. This pantomime is described as ‘the suffering of Polycrates and his daughter’s wanderings, extending to Persia’ (*τὸ Πολυκράτους πάθος καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ μέχρι Περσῶν πλάνη*).

As regards the male protagonist, the evidence of *V&A* suggests that Metiochus had a travel companion—the Persian poem calls him Tūfān—who played a similar role to that of Polycharmus in *Chariton*.⁴⁶ Another potential parallel is not based on the literary adaptations but on the mosaic from Daphne, which shows Metiochus in military gear. This indicates that *M&P* told of some military achievement by Metiochus, which might well have been, as Hägg and Utas suspect, a counterpart to Chaereas’ battles against the Persians in the second part of *NAC*.⁴⁷

The setting of *M&P* and *NAC* provides a further significant parallel: while Persia forms the eastern end of the novels’ geographical sweep, their western boundary is Southern Italy. Our sources for the Italian part of *M&P* are on the one hand the poet Dionysius Periegetes (early second century AD) and his scholiasts, on the other hand *V&A*. In his geographical poem about the inhabited world, Dionysius calls Naples ‘the dwelling of holy Parthenope’ (lines 357–8: *ἡλιμελάθρον | ἀγνῆς Παρθενόπης*). It seems that Dionysius does not refer

⁴⁴ Cf. Hägg and Utas 2003, 161.

⁴⁵ In Hägg and Utas’s edition, *PT* stands for Persian Testimonia, that is indirect quotations of *V&A* from lexical works, as opposed to the fragmentary manuscript (*PF*, Persian Fragment) that preserves 380 lines, presumably belonging to the first part of the poem.

⁴⁶ Cf. Hägg and Utas 2003, 137, 222, and 224.

⁴⁷ Cf. Hägg and Utas 2003, 58–60 and 249.

to the heroine of *M&P* but to the Siren Parthenope who was said to have been buried in Naples.⁴⁸ The attribute ‘pure’ (ἀγνή), however, does not go well with one of the Sirens, who were usually imagined as demonic creatures. Perhaps already Dionysius’ phrasing implies a confusion of the Siren Parthenope with the chaste heroine of *M&P*, whose popularity at the time is suggested by the existence of the Parthenope pantomime.⁴⁹ In any case, the scholiast⁵⁰ felt a need to explain that Dionysius’ reference is ‘not, as some have thought with a pantomime plot in mind, to Parthenope of Samos, who in search of her husband wandered to Anaxilas [the tyrant of Rhegium, 494–476 BC]’ (οὐχ, ὥς τινες ὀρχηστικῇ προσέχοντες ἱστορίᾳ ὑπενόησαν, Παρθενόπης λέγεσθαι τῆς Σαμίας, ἣ τὸν ἄνδρα ζητοῦσα Ἀναξίλαον περιήει). Any remaining doubts that the ‘Parthenope of Samos’ of the pantomime is ultimately the heroine of *M&P* are dispelled by the scholiast’s addition that ‘she had fallen in love with Metiochus’ (ἐρασθείσα Μητιόχου). It is easy to see how the scholiast himself could have confused the identities of the two Parthenopes when he goes on to explain that ‘she came to Campania and lived there’ (εἰς Καμπανίαν ἦλθε καὶ ἐκεῖ ᾤκησεν). Bruno Lavagnini supposed that the story of *M&P* somehow developed out of local legends about the Neapolitan Siren and even suggested *Campanica* (Καμπανικά) as a possible title of the novel.⁵¹ This idea is—apart from a hint of Italian patriotism—quite obviously motivated by Lavagnini’s conviction that all Greek novels are based on local legends. Still, I find it remarkable in this context that part of Antonius Diogenes’ *The Incredible Things beyond Thule* is set in the gulf of Naples. Antonius does not write a love novel, but among other models he surely drew on preceding love novels, too. And if it is true that Chariton was the author of *M&P* and that Antonius was from Aphrodisias, as I suggest below, references by the latter author to the former would be a matter of course. Be that as it may, we know from Photius’ excerpt of *The Incredible Things beyond Thule* that its

⁴⁸ Cf. Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Νεάπολις*; Strabo 1.2.13 and 5.4.7.

⁴⁹ Cf. Hägg and Utas 2003, 49.

⁵⁰ Cf. GGM ii, 445. A similar account, which seems to be entirely dependent on the scholion, is given in the commentary on Dionysius by the Byzantine scholar Eustathius (12th cent. AD), cf. GGM ii, 280.

⁵¹ Cf. Lavagnini 1950 (1921), 81–9.

female protagonist, Dercyllis, goes to Campania. After a stopover in the underworld at Cumae,⁵² she is joined by her fellow travellers Ceryllus and Astraeus and they come 'to the tomb of the Siren' (*Bibl.* 109b12: ἐπὶ τὸν Σειρήνης ἀφίκοντο τάφον), which of course refers to the Siren of Naples. If this is simply a paraphrase for 'Naples', it would be a strangely poetical expression in Photius' summary. But if the phrase refers precisely to the Siren or her tomb, it is unclear how this element would have come to Antonius' mind. *M&P* could have included the key to this reference, provided that the novelistic Parthenope had in fact something to do with the Siren, as Dionysius Periegetes and especially his scholiast suggest. This reasoning concurs with a remark of Karl Kerényi,⁵³ who guessed that Dercyllis' visit to the tomb of the Neapolitan Siren was indeed motivated by *M&P*. Kerényi adds the idea that the name of Antonius' heroine, Dercyllis, might be modelled on female characters of two further preceding ideal novels, Derceia, Semiramis' mother in *Ninus*, and Herpyllis, the eponymous heroine of a fragment from the first half of the second century AD. If this account of Dercyllis' name is correct, it provides a parallel to Antonius' surmised reference to *M&P* and lends indirect support to it.⁵⁴

While the relation of the romantic Parthenope to the Neapolitan Siren remains somewhat dubious, the scholiast's reference to the tyrant Anaxilas of Rhegium clearly points to another Italian location (an interest in which may also be suggested by the appearance of the poet Ibycus of Rhegium as a character of *M&P*). This location is confirmed by *V&A*. In the Persian epic the tyrant is called Ankhalūs of Rīghiyūn (*V&A PT* 45 and *PT* 79) and plays a sinister part in the story. The Persian scholars, in whose works the relevant fragments are quoted, explain that Anaxilas abducted Parthenope and that she was going to be killed in Rhegium. On the one hand, this explanation corroborates the geographical parallel of *M&P* with Chariton's novelistic world, ranging from Magna Graecia to Persia; on the other

⁵² Cf. for Antonius' potential debt to Virgil below, ch. 8, 281–2.

⁵³ Cf. Kerényi 1927, 239 n. 45.

⁵⁴ Incidentally, Kerényi's reasoning could also clear up the confusion about the similarity of the names Dercyllis and Herpyllis. This similarity led some scholars, most prominently Stephens and Winkler, to assign the *Herpyllis* fragment to Antonius' *The Incredible Things beyond Thule* (S&W 158–72); however, this is unlikely on palaeographical grounds, cf. Kussl 1991, 129–30 with n. 99.

hand, it provides a similar motif, since ‘a young Italian, the son of the tyrant of Rhegium’ (Ch. 1.2.2: *νεανίας τις Ἰταλιώτης, υἱὸς τοῦ Πηγίνων τυράννου*) is one of Callirhoe’s suitors at the beginning of *NAC*. This young tyrant seems to share even his cruel temper with Anaxilas, as he is the first to incite the suitors against Chaereas and makes the suggestion to kill him (Ch. 1.2.2–4).

Next, a remarkable parallel in motifs. Chariton has a characteristic liking for the figure of Rumour, which I discuss in chapter seven. *M&P* seems to have employed Rumour frequently and in a similar way. In the short *MSP*—the legend takes up no more than five and a half pages in Hägg and Utas’ translation—, Rumour appears four times and precedes the heroine at significant stops in her story: at home, at the imperial palace of Constantinople, and at the Persian court.⁵⁵ The general parallel with Rumour in *NAC* becomes obvious from my discussion in chapter seven. Here, I just single out the most striking correspondence in *MSP*, the arrival of Rumour at the Persian court. In *MSP* 7.1, Rumour is dispatched by the devil: ‘He passed in haste to the land of the Persians . . . and spread the rumour of this virgin’. At this point, the ‘novelistic manuscript’ of *MSP* provides the addition: ‘where he began to rush through the streets and to shout . . .’. The ‘vulgate’ text continues (*MSP* 7.2): ‘The rumour of her reached the king . . .’. Now compare the sequence of events in Ch. 5.2.6, where Rumour arrives at Babylon: ‘Rumour was overrunning the city in anticipation, proclaiming to all the imminent arrival of a woman of superhuman, divine beauty . . . The rumour reached the King himself’ (*ἡ Φήμη προκατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν, ἀπαγγέλλουσα πᾶσιν ὅτι παραγίνεται γυνὴ κάλλος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ τι θεῖον . . . ἀνέβαινε δὲ ἡ φήμη μέχρις αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως*). There is also a close parallel for Rumour rushing through the streets in Ch. 1.5.1: ‘Rumour ran all over the town . . . arousing cries of grief throughout the narrow streets’ (*Φήμη . . . καθ’ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν διέτρεχεν, οἰμωγὴν ἐγείρουσα διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν*). If *MSP*, then, is anything to go by—as we have good reasons to believe—the author of *M&P* handled Rumour in a manner that is strongly reminiscent of Chariton. This use of the motif separates *NAC* and *M&P*—and it seems also *Chione*, discussed below—from the

⁵⁵ Cf. Hägg and Utas 2003, 73; Hägg 1984, 66 with n. 25.

rest of the novelistic tradition, in which Rumour does not perform a particular function (with the exception of an isolated passage in Achilles Tatius). In chapters seven and eight I argue that Chariton adapted the motif of Rumour from the model of Virgil's *Aeneid*. More generally, I hold that the *Aeneid* was the only available model that could have inspired a subsequent author of a novel to the characteristic use of Rumour known from Chariton. This leads me to believe that the author of *M&P* depends on Virgil, or that he depends on Chariton, or that he was Chariton. I tend towards the third of these options.

The strongest arguments for an identification of Chariton as the author of *M&P*, however, are not the parallels in historical technique, characters, plot, setting, and motifs discussed so far. All this could comparatively easily be imitated by a different author (although the simultaneous imitation of all the elements discussed would in itself be striking), and potential vagaries of the later receptions have to be taken into account. The strongest argument for the identity of the authors of *NAC* and *M&P* is their close correspondence in language and style. This correspondence—which is often connected with further parallels in motifs—could still be due to a very close imitation, but together with the other shared elements and the general chronological picture the overlap seems so significant that a common author is the more likely assumption.

NAC and *M&P* describe the same two stages of love with the same vocabulary.⁵⁶ In *M&P*, Metiochus rejects the image of Eros as a boy who strikes his victims with an arrow. He retorts: 'Love rather is a stirring of the mind aroused by beauty (κάλλος) and increasing with familiarity (συνήθεια)' (col. II, lines 60–2 S&W: Ἐρως[δ' ἔστ]ιν κίνημα διανοίας ὑπὸ [κ]άλλους γινόμε[νον] καὶ ὑπὸ συνηθείας αὔξομενον). *NAC* accounts in a similar way for the growing affection of Dionysius for Callirhoe: 'When his passion first began, it was just her beauty (κάλλος) he was in love with, but by now much else was contributing to that love: familiarity (συνήθεια), the bond of children, mutual kindness, gratitude and jealousy—and above all the sheer unexpectedness' (Ch. 5.9.9: ἀρχόμενος γὰρ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μόνου τοῦ κάλλους ἐραστῆς ἦν, τότε δὲ πολλὰ προσεξήπτε τὸν ἔρωτα, συνήθεια καὶ

⁵⁶ Noted by Maehler 1976, 17 n. 37; Hägg and Utas 2003, 29 n. 22.

τέκνων (κοινωνία καὶ) εὐεργεσία καὶ εὐχαριστία καὶ ζηλοτυπία καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον).

Herwig Maehler has pointed out that the word *φιλότεκνος* ('children-loving') in *M&P* (col. I, line 12 S&W) is reminiscent of Chariton's employment of compounds beginning with *φιλο-*(as in *φιλάνθρωπος*, *φιλογύναιος*, *φίλανδρος*) for describing the characters of persons.⁵⁷ Likewise, *φιλότεκνος* in *M&P* describes a quality of Polycrates. While such compounds are also used by other novelists to some extent—but extremely rarely by Xenophon of Ephesus—Chariton stands out for the frequency and variety of his forms and is the most obvious parallel. An additional observation comes from Tomas Hägg, who refers to the fact that in the 'novelistic manuscript' of *MSP* the Persian king is called a 'lover of woman', redolent of Chariton's *φιλογύναιος* (1.12.7 and 7.6.7) and *φιλογύνης* (2.1.5).⁵⁸ These forms are unparalleled in the corpus of Greek novels.

In the text of our ostrakon, the way in which Metiochus addresses his beloved Parthenope recalls Chariton. In lines 3–5, Metiochus reproaches Parthenope: 'Parthenope, are you forgetful of your Metiochus?' (τοῦ σου [Μ]ητιόχου λήσμων [ε]ἶ). Gronewald, who first ascribed the fragment to *M&P*, notes the similar use of the possessive pronoun in Chariton's letters:⁵⁹ 'I am your Chaereas' (4.4.9: ἐγὼ Χαιρέας εἰμὶ ὁ σός) and 'remember your Callirhoe' (8.4.6: Καλλιρόης μνημόνευε τῆς σῆς).

Perhaps most convincingly, both *M&P* and *NAC* refer to the art of poets, painters, and sculptors.⁶⁰ The context in *M&P* cannot be exactly determined, as our papyrus has some unrestorable lacunae before this reference and breaks off immediately afterwards. In any case, it is Parthenope who speaks, and she seems to defend the traditional depiction of Eros against the rationalizing explanation Metiochus has just presented. Stephens and Winkler translate: '[and I do not] think that for us to the portal of education ... [writers] and poets and painters and sculptors ... this one' (col. II, lines 69–71:

⁵⁷ Maehler 1976, 19–20; cf. for a full list of all instances Papanikolaou 1973, 158 (13 different compounds with *φιλο-* in 30 passages).

⁵⁸ Cf. Hägg 1984, 80 with n. 66.

⁵⁹ Cf. Gronewald 1977, 22.

⁶⁰ Noted, without further discussion, by Wilcken 1901, 267 n. 4; Zimmermann 1936a, 58; Hägg and Utas 2003, 30.

κα[. . .] δοκεῖ μ[οι] ὅτι ἡμ[ί]ν ἐπὶ παιδείας θύραν . . . ὧς καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ ζωγράφοι καὶ π[λάστα]ι τοῦτον . . .). NAC is equally concerned with these artists and their way of representing their subjects. In one passage, Chariton compliments himself on introducing Callirhoe with a baby in her arms and comments: ‘that formed a beautiful sight, such as no painter has ever yet painted nor sculptor sculpted nor poet recounted’ (3.8.6: ὥφθη θέαμα κάλλιστον, οἶον οὔτε ζωγράφος ἔγραψεν οὔτε πλάστης ἔπλασεν οὔτε ποιητῆς ἐστόρησε μέχρι νῦν). In another passage, he refers to poets and sculptors precisely in the context of their representation of Eros: ‘poets and sculptors depict him with bow and arrows and associate him with fire, the most insubstantial, mutable of attributes’ (4.7.6: καὶ τόξα καὶ πῦρ ποιηταὶ τε καὶ πλάσται περιτεθείκασιν αὐτῷ, τὰ κουφότατα καὶ στήναι μὴ θέλοντα). No other Greek novelist ever refers to sculptors (πλάσται). Chariton, however, has them even in a third passage, in which he describes the handsome Chaereas: ‘like Achilles and Nireus and Hippolytus and Alcibiades as sculptors and painters portray them’ (1.1.3: οἶον Ἀχιλλέα καὶ Νιρέα καὶ Ἱππόλυτον καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην πλάσται καὶ γραφεῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι). The comparison of persons with statues is of course a topos throughout ancient literature and its use in the ideal novels was already noted by Rohde.⁶¹ What is more, Chariton’s predilection for statuary, usually in representations of Callirhoe, has received some attention in recent studies by Richard Hunter and Froma Zeitlin.⁶² But his focus on the makers of statues, sculptors, has gone unnoticed. This focus is unique in the ancient novel. What is it about those sculptors? They could no doubt be packed with wide-ranging metaliterary and cultural significance—as given to Chariton’s statues by Hunter and Zeitlin respectively. My hunch, however, is purely positivist: the Aphrodisian Chariton had every reason to be fond of sculptors and sculpture. Favoured by the proximity of rich marble quarries, Aphrodisias had made itself a reputation for sculptors in the whole Mediterranean world, and the impressive presence of marble sculpture in the city is an attraction to visitors of the ruins to this day.⁶³

⁶¹ Rohde 1914³ (1876), 165–6.

⁶² Cf. Hunter 1994, 1074–6; Zeitlin 2003, esp. 79–81.

⁶³ Cf. above, ch. 2, 26.

The sculptors are the most distinctive group of artists considered in *NAC* and *M&P*. But the other ones also deserve attention. Achilles Tatius once refers to Homer as a poet (ποιητής), and Heliodorus has his Theagenes once feel like a poet when he remembers a prophecy.⁶⁴ That is all that the Greek novelists have to say about poets qua poets, except Chariton who talks of them seven times.⁶⁵ Apart from *NAC* and *M&P*, the only Greek novel that mentions painters is Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*,⁶⁶ but the relevant passages exclusively occur in descriptions of paintings and are therefore differently and more obviously motivated. Against this backdrop, it is evident why our parallel is so remarkable: every single occurrence of ποιητής, ζωγράφος, or πλαστής in *M&P* would point to Chariton rather than any other novelist. The fact that in both texts all three terms occur together in one passage entails that the authors are either identical or that one has the other in mind. The interest in particular forms of art and representation, however, seems to me to reflect the particular taste of an individual, and I have difficulty imagining that a second author would simply copy it like a piece of plot or a narrative motif.

Lastly, in the same discussion of artistic representation, *M&P* refers to Aphrodite and Eros in a way suggestive of Chariton: Metiochus boasts that he has not experienced Eros yet and rejects—wrongly, as the context implies—the idea of a personal image of the god as ‘the son of Aphrodite’ (*col.* 2, line 42 S&W: [ὁ Ἔρως Ἀφροδίτης υἱός]). Not only do we here have a personal idea of Aphrodite as in *NAC*; the image of Aphrodite as Eros’ mother, familiar as it may be in Greek myth and literature, does not occur in other novels except *NAC*, where Eros twice appears as Aphrodite’s son: in 2.2.8 we read that ‘she [*sc.* Aphrodite] is the mother of Eros’ (μήτηρ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Ἑρωτος); and in 6.2.4, Artaxerxes ‘called on Aphrodite to help him propitiate her son’ (παρεκάλεσεν Ἀφροδίτην, ἵνα αὐτῷ βοηθῇ πρὸς τὸν υἱόν). Again it seems as if the imagination of the novelist goes along with Aphrodisian art, which has found a unique representation of Aphrodite’s motherhood in one of the

⁶⁴ AT 2.36.6; Heliod. 8.11.3.

⁶⁵ Ch. 1.1.16; 2.1.5; 2.4.8; 3.8.6; 4.7.6; 5.5.9; 5.8.2.

⁶⁶ ζωγράφος: AT 1.1.12; 3.6.3; 3.7.3; 5.3.4; 5.3.7; γραφεύς: AT 1.1.4; 3.6.3 (twice), 3.7.1; 3.8.2.

reliefs of the Sebasteion. In this relief, we see an endearing representation of Aphrodite with (or giving birth to?) baby Eros, which was apparently inspired by the Tellus figure of the Roman *Ara Pacis*.⁶⁷

All this strongly suggests that the author of *M&P* is none other than Chariton. The date of *M&P* allows this conclusion, and the parallels with *NAC* are so extensive, detailed, and characteristic that even the hypothesis of an imitation by a second author seems a less plausible guess.

EXCURSUS 1: *M&P*, *CHIONE*, AND THE 'SCHOOL OF CHARITON'

The idea that Chariton was the author of more than one novel has been considered by a number of scholars before.⁶⁸ Beside *M&P*, Chariton has also been associated with our fragments of *Chione*. For that reason my general consideration of Chariton as author of multiple works starts with a brief discussion of the parallels between *Chione* and *NAC*.

Our main fragment of *Chione* was transmitted in a late antique palimpsest codex—now not extant—which also contained bits of *NAC*. This manuscript was on current evidence the only one before the medieval period to hold more than one novel. If the circumstances of transmission in themselves are a slight indication of a close relation between *Chione* and *NAC*, a number of shared characteristics of the texts confirm this suspicion. Unfortunately, with *Chione* we have less text and not nearly as good an idea of the plot as with *M&P*. The material can be increased a little if we accept Michael Gronewald's attribution of two papyrus fragments to *Chione*.⁶⁹ As far as the plot goes, the new fragments do not get us much further, but they add some linguistic parallels with *NAC* to those already known from

⁶⁷ Cf. Smith 1987, 132; Smith 1990, 97. The pictorial context of the Aeneas legend makes Aeneas a possible identification of the baby, too (cf. Smith 1989, 54; here below, ch. 8, 284). I can well imagine that ambiguity was the point in this case.

⁶⁸ Cf. e.g. Kerényi 1927, 234–5 n. 22; Gronewald 1979, 19–20; Hägg 1984, 79–80; Ruiz-Montero 1994a, 1008; Reardon 1996, 319 n. 19; Holzberg 2006³, 67.

⁶⁹ Cf. Gronewald 1979.

the codex. These parallels are well known and since *Chione* is just a side argument to my discussion I refer readers to the places where they are laid out in detail.⁷⁰ In addition, I would like to make two points, one on the setting and characters, another on the motif of Rumour and the staging of crowds.

First to setting and characters. Nicola Marini has shown that *Chione* might well have had a historical or pseudohistorical backdrop in the manner of Chariton.⁷¹ The reference to a 'realm' (βασιλεία; presumably inherited by Chione), which suggested to some a kind of fairy tale rather than a historical novel, could in actual fact be to a 'queen' (βασίλεια), comparable to Chariton's Persian queen Statira. As in the opening sequence of *NAC*, suitors seem to play a role at the beginning of *Chione*. Apart from the name of the protagonist, 'Chione', the only personal name transmitted in our fragments is 'Megamedes'. A character of this name occurs in Xenophon of Ephesus as an inhabitant (1.2.5: ἐγγχώριος) of Ephesus or its environs, which takes us to Ionia as a potential setting.⁷² Franz Zimmermann argued that Megamedes may have been much like Chariton's Dionysius, a noble but unlucky admirer of the heroine—reason enough for Zimmermann to consider Chariton and the author of *Chione* 'geistesverwandt'.⁷³ The name 'Chione' itself is, like 'Callirhoe', fairly common in Greek legends.⁷⁴ Servius, in his commentary on the *Aeneid* (4.250), even tells an aetiological story in which two nymphs of the name Callirhoe and Chione appear as mother and daughter.

Next to Rumour and crowd scenes. In our fragments of *Chione* there are three instances—one in the codex, two in the papyri—of staging the reactions of a crowd to something curious or shocking. Several scholars have pointed out that the general motif as well as the use of certain phrases recall *NAC*.⁷⁵ Stephens and Winkler remark that 'this may be insignificant, because the topic of crowd behaviour

⁷⁰ Cf. for the codex Zimmermann 1936a, 41–6; for the papyri Gronewald 1979; on p. 20 n. 1, Gronewald also adds to the parallels between the codex fragment and *NAC*.

⁷¹ Cf. Marini 1993.

⁷² *LGP* has two preliminary examples of the name in Pontus and Ionia and no occurrences elsewhere.

⁷³ Cf. Zimmermann 1936b, 240.

⁷⁴ Cf. for Callirhoe above, ch. 2, 73 with n. 157; for Chione *RE* 3.2 (1899), 2284.

⁷⁵ Cf. Gronewald 1979; Kaimio 1996, 72–3.

may be quite standardized.⁷⁶ According to present evidence, however, the best parallels can be found in Chariton. More than that, the passage from the codex provides a closer link with *NAC* than simple crowd behaviour: not only does a crowd appear, it is also brought to its feet by Rumour.⁷⁷ In *Chione*, Rumour appears when plans of a forced marriage for Chione are leaking out: 'But quickly there spread through the entire city... rumour [and] no one spoke of anything else but the marriage' (*col.* II, lines 3–9 S&W: ταχέως δὲ διεφοίτησε ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν . . . φήμ[η καὶ] οὐθε[ὶς] ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐλάλει [ἧ] περὶ τοῦ γάμου). I have already pointed out that Rumour is a signature motif of Chariton. The appearance of Rumour in *Chione* is the closest parallel to Chariton's use of the motif in our novelistic corpus. While the author of *Chione* could in theory have borrowed it from isolated occurrences in previous Greek literature, a connection with Chariton is much more likely, not least in view of the other shared characteristics. More precisely, considering that the motif of Rumour ultimately comes from Virgil, I would draw the same conclusion as in the case of *M&P*: the author of *Chione* relies on Virgil, or he imitates Chariton, or he is Chariton. And as with *M&P*, I think the total balance of evidence makes the third option the most probable.

It is of course understood that there can be no absolute certainty about Chariton's authorship of *M&P* and *Chione*, but given the evidence discussed I do not see any good reason not to accept this as a working hypothesis. Otherwise an alternative account of our parallels would be needed. And what would this look like? The only relevant idea I know of comes from Bryan Reardon. In addition to Chariton's authorship of all three novels, Reardon tentatively suggests that Chariton 'may have been the "leader" of a group of early novelists', dubbed 'school of Chariton'.⁷⁸ If there really was such a group of early novelists, it is arbitrary to declare outright that Chariton was their 'leader'—at least the author of *M&P* should be given the same credit to 'lead'. More importantly, however, this

⁷⁶ S&W 303.

⁷⁷ Cf. below, ch. 7; for the comparison with Chariton *ibid.* 254–5.

⁷⁸ Cf. Reardon 1996, 319 n. 19; Reardon 2006, 232 includes also *Ninus* and alternatively speaks of a 'School of *Ninus*'. On Chariton and *Ninus* see here below.

scenario is not on an equal footing with that of Chariton's authorship: heuristically, it is an unnecessary multiplication of entities; historically, it does not have more likelihood; and literary-historically, it is less probable since a number of parallels in style and taste point to the personality of one author rather than to imitation(s) by others. While other scenarios are *possible*, they do not seem as *probable*, and I cannot find a virtue in cautiousness which refuses to favour the most economical explanation.

Which of Chariton's three novels would then have been the first? This question presses our evidence too hard. Judging from the poetics of invention which I find in *NAC* and lay out in the following chapters, my guess is that Chariton's fully extant novel is indeed the first. But I am aware that the scanty remnants of *M&P*, let alone *Chione*, do not begin to give a sufficient idea of the poetics of those works. They could well have included a metaliterary layer similar to *NAC*, and it would not surprise me if Chariton had realized his 'ideal' poetics in more than one shape. This *might* have involved a development in his writing from one novel to another. Bo Utas and Tomas Hägg, for instance, have drawn attention to the possibility that *M&P* need not have had a happy ending.⁷⁹ The indications for this are essentially the heroine's name 'Parthenope', the 'Virgin', which could refer to permanent virginity (but might as well just characterize her superiority and impregnability); and her death by fire at the end of *MSP*, precisely to preserve her virginity against the advances of the Persian king (but perhaps this is an adaptation of a ruse connected with *Scheintod* in *M&P*, as suggested by Hägg and Utas themselves).⁸⁰ In favour of a happy ending the best piece of evidence is the dream of Parthenope's father Polycrates ('Fuluqrāt') in the Persian poem, which seems to suggest that at the end the heroine will return to Samos and ascend her father's throne (*PF* 16–20). Neither argument is conclusive, but it is clear that there can be no 'generic convention' at this stage of the development of the ideal novel. There is surely a possibility that *M&P* ended tragically and in this case it is likely to have been written before *NAC*, as an earlier experiment with the new

⁷⁹ Cf. Utas 1984–6, esp. 436–9; Hägg 2002*b*, 18; Hägg and Utas 2003, 202–3 and 247–50.

⁸⁰ Cf. Hägg 1984, 71–2; Hägg and Utas 2003, 75.

form. A slight pointer in this direction could also be the reference to the 'son of the tyrant of Rhegium' at the beginning of *NAC* (1.2.2). As discussed above, the tyrant Anaxilas of Rhegium played a comparatively larger role in *M&P*, and the appearance of 'his' (literary) son in a similar sinister part at the beginning of *NAC* could have been a self-referential allusion to the earlier work. However, if it was only *NAC* which added the happy ending after an earlier experiment, this would make Callirhoe's story all the more the classic model for the future genre, since all extant ideal novels end happily. In the last resort, there is no way of sorting out the chronological relation between *NAC*, *M&P*, and *Chione*. In either case, Chariton would be the inventor of the ideal novel. And depending on our view of *M&P* and *Chione*, *NAC* constitutes either the classic model of the genre or one of three similar founding texts.

4. *NINUS*

Ever since Ulrich Wilcken published the first papyrus of *Ninus*, this novel has been thought to be the oldest romance and has often been put in the first century BC.⁸¹ Several reasons have conspired in assigning this early date:

a) Transmission: The two papyri containing the four extant fragments of *Ninus* are our earliest novelistic papyri and the only ones from the first century AD. The reverse of *P. Berol.* 6926, published by Wilcken, is inscribed with accounts dating to the third year of Trajan's reign, which provides a safe *terminus ante quem* of AD 100–1 for the novel. The hand of the scribe can be placed in the period between AD 60 and AD 90. Similarly, the hand of the second papyrus, *PSI* 1305, falls in the second half of the first century AD.⁸²

b) Setting and Plot: *Ninus* has been regarded as a missing link between historiography and romance. Its focus on the youth of a celebrated young ruler, together with his erotic involvement, has seemed to pick up in a novelistic way where Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*

⁸¹ Cf. e.g. Wilcken 1893, 189–90 (late 1st cent. BC); Perry 1967, 153–4 (c.100 BC); Reardon 1991, 10 n. 14 (c.100 BC).

⁸² Cf. S&W 31 and 63.

and Hellenistic historiography left off. In a next step, novels such as *NAC* and *M&P* would reduce history to a mere frame and increase the fictional element by freely inventing their characters and plots.⁸³

c) History of scholarship: *Ninus* seemed to prove the assumption of a Hellenistic origin of the ideal novel which has long dominated scholarship. Perry, for instance, discusses *Ninus* under the chapter heading 'The Birth of the Ideal Greek Romance'.⁸⁴

Points b) and c) are in themselves not very convincing as they rest on abstract postulates. I have dealt with c) in my Introduction. Point b) might be considered to go well with the chronological priority of *Ninus* suggested by a), but the idea of a chronological sequence of two types of historical novels has now lost its material basis with the dating of the *M&P* ostrakon to the first century AD. At the end of the day, all further considerations hinge on our interpretation of a). What is the possible range for the composition of *Ninus*? After Perry, scholars have often uncritically relied on his views and overlooked the fact that a date for *Ninus* as early as c.100 BC lacks any probability and authority. Perry does not even discuss the date of the novel. He takes it for granted and refers to Rattenbury.⁸⁵ Rattenbury, however, refers to no one except rumour and on this basis puts 'indisputably two centuries' between *Ninus* and Chariton.⁸⁶

... the state of the papyrus and the nature of the writing are said to be not inconsistent with a date as early as the second century B.C., and it is generally allowed that on palaeographical grounds some time in the first century BC. is the most likely date. The *Ninus-Romance* is therefore the only pre-Christian specimen of its kind; it is indisputably two centuries earlier than the earliest of the completely extant romances (Charito).

I cannot see who ever dated the hand of the scribe of *P. Berol.* 6926—the only papyrus then published—to the second (or even first) century BC. Wilhelm Schubart, in the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, did not put it before c. AD 50,⁸⁷ and on present evidence the

⁸³ Cf. e.g. Ludvíkovský 1925, 117–23; Bartsch 1934, 33–4; Ruiz Montero 1994a, 1025; Reardon 2004b, 184 and 190.

⁸⁴ Cf. Perry 1967, 149–80.

⁸⁵ Perry 1967, 153–4.

⁸⁶ Rattenbury 1933, 212–13.

⁸⁷ Schubart 1925, 118.

script is best paralleled, as stated above, in the period from AD 60–90. As far as the date of composition is concerned, already Wilcken registered the Atticism and ‘sophistic’ rhetoric in *Ninus* and on these grounds suggested a date in the *late* first century BC.⁸⁸ Similarly, Bruno Lavagnini favoured the late first century BC because of the Atticism of *Ninus*.⁸⁹ It may be useful to recall here that Chariton was, by Papanikolaou, placed in the same period or a little earlier because of non-Atticism. Later, Hernández Lara and Ruiz Montero uncovered Chariton’s veneer of Atticism and moved him to the first and even to the early second century AD. Apparently there is a double standard in dating *Ninus* and Chariton on linguistic grounds. This is, of course, a result of the notion that *Ninus* must be early. But how early? Wilcken granted that *Ninus* might have been written as late as c. AD 50.⁹⁰ More than that, he admitted that we have no yardstick for measuring the period between the copying of *Ninus* and the reuse of the papyrus for accounts on the back. Wilcken declares his own guess of fifty to seventy years to be subjective.⁹¹ Modern studies have argued that the language of *Ninus* is close to our other early novels and uses practically the same register as *NAC* or *M&P*.⁹² The date of the hand, AD 60–90, implies that the papyrus was put to relatively fast reuse (between ten and forty years), which is plausible in itself and paralleled by other examples.⁹³ Again subjectively, we may think that ten years is too short a period for the novel to be written, copied, and reused for other purposes. But a generation span of twenty-five years from writing to reuse, as involved by Bowie’s suggestion of a *terminus ante quem* of c. AD 75, seems to be credible. On the other hand, the linguistic characteristics of *Ninus* forbid one going much earlier than the late first century BC as a *terminus post quem*. The period of composition, therefore, can be narrowed down to the late first century BC to c. AD 75. This largely overlaps with the period I have established for *NAC*, 19 BC–AD 62. The fact that the fragments of

⁸⁸ Cf. Wilcken 1893, 193.

⁸⁹ Cf. Lavagnini 1950 (1921), 81.

⁹⁰ Cf. Wilcken 1893, 189–90.

⁹¹ Cf. Wilcken 1893, 164.

⁹² Cf. Reeve 1971, 536–7 for avoidance of hiatus; S&W 26; Swain 1996, 424; Bowie 2002, 47–54.

⁹³ Cf. Swain 1996, 424; Bowie 2002, 51–2.

Ninus were—at least until the *M&P* ostrakon emerged—the earliest ever found have created a sense that *Ninus* must precede all other known examples of the genre. But apart from this sense there is little reason to believe that *Ninus* was earlier than *NAC*.

Whether *Ninus* comes after *NAC* is another question, which is difficult to answer with confidence. A precarious but tempting argument for a late date has been put forward by Ewen Bowie who draws attention to the apparent significance of Armenia in *Ninus*. I would like to pick up and elaborate on this argument. While in *NAC* Armenia is only passingly referred to in Mithridates' journey from Caria to Babylon, it constitutes the setting of a full-blown military expedition in *Ninus*. This expedition takes up the larger part of fragment B (col. B.I, line 33–B.III, line 38 S&W) and, with that, more than twenty per cent of our total remains of *Ninus*. Ninus' conquest of Armenia was part of the larger legend about him, of which the most detailed extant account is Diodorus Siculus' (2.1–20) short summary of Ctesias' longer narrative about Ninus and Semiramis. It may be that Ctesias placed great emphasis on the Armenian expedition, but at least from Diodorus' brief reference to it (2.1.8–9) this does not shine through and it is not perfectly clear why the author of *Ninus* would have given this part such a prominent role. We also have to take into account that at least to some extent our fragments provide a random sample of the original text and that they need not reflect the actual proportions of its episodes. But even so, an enquiry into possible motivations (beyond the model of the legend) for the long description of Ninus' Armenian campaign seems legitimate. Bowie suggests that the author dwelled on the subject not least because of the then contemporaneous military significance of Armenia. In Bowie's scenario, with Chariton writing in the 40s or 50s AD and the author of *Ninus* not much later, there is only one outstanding military event in Armenia: the war about the control of this country led by Nero's general Corbulo. This war started formally with Nero's accession to the throne in AD 54, broke out in earnest in AD 58, and lasted until AD 63. It was *the* major war of the time from a Roman perspective and could easily have inspired the author of *Ninus*. However, leaving a number of smaller conflicts out of consideration, there is one earlier military expedition into Armenia which could have provided a similar kind of inspiration:

the eastern campaign of Mark Antony and his temporary annexation of Armenia in 34 bc. Stephens and Winkler, for instance, contemplate that the description of the harsh Armenian winter in *Ninus* (col. B.II, lines 9–17) could be indebted to memories of the hardships of Mark Antony's army in Armenia, comparable to the accounts of this event by Plutarch (*Ant.* 51) or Cassius Dio (49.31).

Still, I think that Nero's campaign would have provided more—and more satisfying—stimuli for the author of *Ninus*. I here bring back a thesis of Léon Herrmann which appears to be little known but deserves closer inspection.⁹⁴ While I do not generally find Herrmann's appetite for allegoric-biographical interpretation of literary texts commendable,⁹⁵ his suggestion that we should regard Nero as a model for the novelistic Ninus is as simple as attractive. The correspondences are essentially as follows (D–d is my own addition):

A) The young king Ninus is about to marry his cousin (ἀνεψιά, cf. col. A.II, lines 4 and 17 S&W).

B) He is in his seventeenth year (col. A.II, lines 20–1 S&W: ἑπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος ἄγω).

C) His cousin is thirteen years old, which results from two passages: Assyrian maidens 'marry when they are fifteen' (col. A.III, lines 1–3 S&W); Ninus is supposed to wait two years until he can lawfully marry his cousin who is still too young (col. A.III, lines 11–12 S&W).

D) The mothers of Ninus and Semiramis, Thambe and Derceia, are prominent characters and instrumental in the marriage of their children (fr. A is all about the interviews of the mothers with their prospective children-in-law).

E) Ninus, apparently on his first independent command, invades Armenia (col. B.I, line 33–B.III line 38 S&W).

a) Sometime in AD 53, the young prince Nero married Claudia Octavia; she was not his first cousin, but a close relative by blood (her father, the emperor Claudius, was the uncle of Nero's mother Agrippina) and a stepsister by adoption (Nero was adopted by Claudius).

b) Nero was born on 15 December AD 37; he started his seventeenth year at the end of AD 53 and turned seventeen at the end of AD 54; he was still in his seventeenth year at his accession to the throne on 13 October AD 54.

⁹⁴ Cf. Herrmann 1939.

⁹⁵ Cf. e.g. Herrmann 1975–6.

c) Claudia Octavia was probably born in AD 40 (her mother Valeria Messalina married the emperor Claudius in AD 39, and Octavia was older than her brother Britannicus, born in AD 41);⁹⁶ when she got married to Nero in AD 53, she was thirteen years old.

d) The mothers of Nero and Octavia, Agrippina and Valeria Messalina, both married to the emperor Claudius, were notorious and powerful players at the Roman court. The marriage between Nero and Octavia was brokered by Agrippina (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.9).

e) At the end of AD 54, rumours began to circulate in Rome that the Parthians had taken control of Armenia. We know from Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.6) that there was great concern in the city over how a prince 'scarcely past seventeen years' (*princeps vix septemdecim annos egressus*) and 'ruled by a female' (*qui a femina regeretur*, sc. his mother Agrippina) would handle this situation. Nero, however, reacted immediately: he amassed troops near Armenia and put his general Corbulo in charge of holding on to it. In consequence, he was acclaimed a war hero by the senate (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13.8).

These parallels suggest that our two main fragments of *Ninus*, referred to as A and B, can be related to two events of the years AD 53 and 54: Nero's marriage to Octavia and the start of his war in Armenia. a)–d) could account for some peculiarities in the characters of *Ninus* that have long been noticed. Wilhelm Schmid wondered:⁹⁷ 'Eigenartig ist, daß die Liebenden verwandt sind, wodurch die nicht gerade poetischen Tanten in die Handlung gezogen werden; ferner, daß sie so abnorm jung sind'. These elements are not prefigured in the legends of Ninus and Semiramis, nor do the other ideal novels provide a neat parallel. The only other example of the lovers being relatives is in Achilles Tatius, where the fathers of Leucippe and Clitophon are half-brothers (1.3.1). But with Achilles this detail remains in the background and is never mentioned in the story of the lovers themselves. Nowhere do the mothers play such a prominent role as in *Ninus*. As to the age of the couple, Schmid's remark is not altogether wrong, but needs qualification. The ages of Ninus and Semiramis do not much differ in absolute figures from those of the protagonists of other ideal novels: Chariton does not state the age of his protagonists; Xenophon's Habrocomes is sixteen (1.2.2), Anthia fourteen (1.2.5); at the beginning of Longus' novel, Daphnis is

⁹⁶ Cf. *PIR*² C 1110.

⁹⁷ Schmid 1904, 480.

fifteen, Chloe thirteen (1.7.1)—at the end they are one and a half years older; in Achilles Tatius both Clitophon and Leucippe are nineteen (1.3.3; 1.9.6); in Heliodorus, Theagenes as well as Charicleia are seventeen (10.11.1–2; 10.14.4; 10.20.1). Nowhere, however, is marriage at the age of thirteen considered an option and in this respect *Ninus*, where the minimum marriage age even becomes an issue in the plot, is in fact an exception. Finally, e) provides a fairly close model for young Ninus' campaign into Armenia and his coming of age as a successful military leader. While Nero never saw the battlefields himself, he was stylized from early on as a military leader, and the language and symbols of militarism and triumphalism characterized his life throughout.⁹⁸

Points A)–E) constitute a chronological sequence which reflects the traditional order of the fragments A→B. There is a chance that the order of the fragments is B→A rather than A→B,⁹⁹ which would put Ninus' Armenian excursion *before* his marriage with Semiramis. But this would not rule out the idea that the author of *Ninus* was inspired by the events in question. The correspondences would still be remarkable. I am not suggesting that the plot of *Ninus* follows history or that—as Herrmann proposes—we should see in it a *roman-à-clef*. It is unclear what the *clef* would be and I doubt that if we had more of the text we would be much wiser as to a 'key' to a hidden meaning. Rather, the author of the royal romance *Ninus* creatively appropriated current affairs in the royal family of his own time. I do not think this implies any political leaning. It is unlikely that *Ninus* had an anti-Neronian tendency since the protagonist appears as a war hero and his erotic involvement would have been entertaining rather than offensive. Nor can I imagine any official propagandistic purpose, for the audience and purpose of such intimate propaganda would be unclear.

If we accept the correspondences discussed above, a *terminus post quem* of the end of AD 54 follows. *Ninus* could still be earlier than NAC, but by no more than a few years. However, it does not seem to be the most likely scenario that *Ninus* was written when the war in Armenia was still in progress and undecided. It would rather have

⁹⁸ Cf. e.g. Champlin 2003, 210–37, esp. 215–19.

⁹⁹ Cf. e.g. S&W 27–8; Kussl 1991, 96–101.

taken its cue from the glorious end, the peace deal between Rome and Parthia in AD 63, or else the memorable staging of the new peaceful order through the reception of the Armenian king Tiridates at Rome in AD 66. Bowie suggests that the memoirs of Corbulo, which may have been a source for the historiographic accounts of the Armenian campaign, could have been a basis for the author of *Ninus*.¹⁰⁰ This would result in the same *termini post quem*: either the end of the war, AD 63, or Corbulo's death, AD 66. Of all the possible events behind those dates, however, my preference is for Tiridates' reception at Rome. In this reception Nero bestowed the Armenian crown on Tiridates and symbolically closed the gates of the temple of Janus in the Forum Romanum. This and the related celebrations no doubt caused a great stir throughout the eastern part of the Roman Empire. The procession of Tiridates and his large entourage on their way to Rome was in itself a spectacle, and Nero spent tremendous amounts of money on the whole event to display his power and generosity.¹⁰¹ It has been thought that this show, together with the actual benefits from the peace deal of AD 63, decisively contributed to Nero's long-lasting popularity in the East.¹⁰² If this provided a general stimulus for the fiction of *Ninus*, a specific parallel between the legend of the Assyrian king on the one hand and Nero's reception of Tiridates on the other might have sparked the merging of their characters in the first place. This is what Diodorus Siculus (2.1.8–9) writes about Ninus' mercy towards the defeated Armenian king Barzanes:

διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Βαρζάνης, ὁρῶν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχον ὄντα, μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων ἀπήντησε καὶ πᾶν ἔφησε ποιήσκειν τὸ προσταττόμενον. ὁ δὲ Νίνος μεγαλοψύχως αὐτῷ χρησάμενος τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας συνεχώρησεν ἄρχειν . . .

King Barzanes, realizing that he was no match for him [*sc.* Ninus] in battle, met him with many presents and announced that he would obey his every command. But Ninus treated him with great magnanimity, and agreed that he should continue to rule over Armenia . . .

We may conclude, therefore, that the most likely period of composition of *Ninus* is from AD 66 (the crowning of Tiridates) to AD 68

¹⁰⁰ Bowie 2002, 56.

¹⁰¹ Cf. e.g. Suet. *Ner.* 13; Cass. Dio 63.1–7; generally Champlin 2003, 221–9.

¹⁰² Cf. e.g. Bradley 1978, 89 on Suet. *Ner.* 13.1.

(Nero's death). This period also coincides with Nero's famous tour of Greece, from September AD 66 to late 67 or early 68, during which he performed in all the Greek games and liberated the province of Achaea from Roman administration and taxation. There is no doubt that these events, too, had a resounding echo throughout the Greek world. Whatever we may think about the date of *Ninus*, those days were certainly an excellent time for writing royal romance.

The idea that *Ninus* took inspiration from Nero's war in Armenia would gain even more probability if it could be argued that its author was Aphrodisian or closely related to Aphrodisias. For in this city we find images of Nero which can easily be associated with the events discussed. Nero appears as the conqueror of Armenia in a relief panel of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, situated in the upper story of the south portico, among a series of emperors and family members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.¹⁰³ The motif is strikingly vivid and in its immediate context only comparable with a neighbouring panel showing Claudius' victory over Britain. The female personification of Armenia is depicted as a spoil of war at Nero's mercy. The emperor, however, holds her slumping figure up by her arms. This seems to represent precisely Nero's embracing Armenia in the Roman Empire, as symbolized in history with the reception of King Tiridates in AD 66. But this is not the only potential inspiration for *Ninus* that the Sebasteion provides. In a further panel of the same sequence we see Nero receiving his crown from his mother Agrippina, which takes us back to the dramatic date of his accession to the throne in AD 54, when he was in his seventeenth year.¹⁰⁴ This piece of evidence is supplemented by an Aphrodisian coin issue from c. AD 54/55, showing—probably—Nero and Agrippina on the obverse, and Aphrodisias-Tyche on the reverse.¹⁰⁵ Finally, the opposite north portico of the Sebasteion presents us with a series of reliefs of peoples (ἔθνη) that have been subjugated by the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁶ This may be compared to a passage of *Ninus*, in which the Assyrian king remarks

¹⁰³ Cf. Smith 1987, 117–20 with Pls. XVI–XVII.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Smith 1987, 127–32 with Pls. XXIV–XXVI.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. MacDonald 1992, 78, and above, ch. 2, 31–2 with n. 30.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Smith 1988.

that he has become 'master of so many peoples' (*col.* A.II, line 10 S&W: *τοσοῦτων δεσπόσας ἔθνων*).

Now, there are a number of indications that the author of *Ninus* was indeed closely related to Aphrodisias. To begin with, the name of the city.¹⁰⁷ The place known as Aphrodisias was not always named after Aphrodite; or rather, the Aphrodisians laid claim to a prehistory that would prove their time-honoured descent evoked by different names.¹⁰⁸ Stephanus of Byzantium mentions 'Ninoe' (s.vv. *Νινώη* and *Μεγάλη πόλις*) as one of three older names of Aphrodisias and explicitly derives this name from Ninus, the legendary founder of the Assyrian Empire (*ἀπὸ Νίνου Νινώη*). Ninus seems to have been regarded as an eponymous hero of old Aphrodisias. Stephanus' report is borne out by a number of relief panels (c. AD 100) which were unearthed during the excavation of the long hall of the Roman basilica at Aphrodisias in 1969–72, 1977, and 1988. In one of these reliefs, found in 1977, Ninus is shown in a sacrificial gesture characteristic of founder figures. His iconographical attributes, a barren tree and an eagle, establish a close link to Aphrodisias:¹⁰⁹ the barren tree frequently occurs in Aphrodisian coins of the second and third centuries AD and constitutes a landmark in the legendary topography of the city; the eagle refers to Zeus who had, under the name of Zeus Nineudios, a major cult at Aphrodisias. The epiclesis Nineudios seems in itself to be derived from Ninus, who according to Herodotus 1.7 was a scion of Zeus. A recently found dedication to Zeus Nineudios by an Aphrodisian bronzesmith of the first century BC is accompanied by the statuette of an eagle.¹¹⁰

Perhaps the claim on Ninus' foundation of Aphrodisias was meant to recall his celebrated foundation of Assyrian Nineveh. And perhaps it is also significant that Nineveh was the cult centre of the Assyrian goddess of love and war, Ishtar, who was later identified with the

¹⁰⁷ Cf. e.g. S&W 1995, 26–7; Bowie 2002, 55.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. e.g. Yıldırım 2001, 157–62 and 166–75; Chaniotis 2003b, 71; id. 2004, 392–3.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Yıldırım 2001, 166–75. Illustrations can be found *ibid.* Pl. 52, and in Erım 1986, 26–7.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Chaniotis 2004, 392–3, who furthermore suggests Nineuda rather than Ninoe as the original name of old Aphrodisias.

Greek Aphrodite.¹¹¹ In view of this one might suspect some sort of connection between the Aphrodisian legend of Ninus and the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias. A link could be found in Ninus' legendary wife Semiramis, represented in the reliefs of the basilica in a panel near Ninus.¹¹² Legend had it that Semiramis was the daughter of Atargatis, also known as Derceto, but in the Graeco-Roman world usually addressed as the 'Syrian goddess'.¹¹³ The name of Semiramis' mother in *Ninus*, 'Derceia', is manifestly modelled on 'Derceto'. Atargatis was identified with various Greek goddesses, but particularly with Aphrodite, and in her cult centre at Hierapolis Bambyce in Syria she was, like Ishtar and the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, worshipped under the aspects of fertility and war.¹¹⁴ Beyond this link via Semiramis' mother, Bahadır Yıldırım refers to a number of legendary connections between Semiramis herself and Aphrodite.¹¹⁵ Equally relevant with respect to the Aphrodisian cult could be Semiramis' alleged founding of sanctuaries. The queen was said, for instance, to have founded the temple of Zeus Belus at Babylon (Diod. Sic. 2.9.4–9), the temple of her mother Derceto at Hierapolis Bambyce (Luc. *De dea Syr.* 14), and the temple of Artemis at Antioch on the Orontes (Lib. *Or.* 11.59). Drawing a conclusion from this evidence, Yıldırım argues that Semiramis, in the iconographic programme of the Aphrodisian basilica, might be read as the founder of the cult of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, very much as Ninus emerges as the founder of Aphrodisias and its cult of Zeus. Be that as it may, the potential links between Ninus, Semiramis, and the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias are bolstered by the fact that the Aphrodisian goddess herself is represented in a relief from the basilica.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, we do not have a secure find-spot here, which makes it impossible to determine her function in the whole iconographic programme.

¹¹¹ Cf. Erim 1986, 26 and Yıldırım 2004, 160 for etymological speculations in this context.

¹¹² Cf. for illustrations Yıldırım 2001, Pl. 49; Erim 1986, 101.

¹¹³ Intriguingly, Suetonius (*Nero* 56) tells us that Atargatis was the only deity that Nero ever respected (although he later came to despise her)—another point of convergence between Roman history and Assyrian legend which the author of *Ninus* could have exploited.

¹¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Hörig 1984, 1543–4.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Yıldırım 2001, 103–25.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Yıldırım 2001, 242–52.

It may be asked whether the later evidence for the legend of Ninus at Aphrodisias could in any way be dependent on the novel *Ninus*. The question is legitimate considering that the reliefs of the basilica and Stephanus of Byzantium postdate the novel. The reliefs, c. AD 100, could have been made under the impact of *Ninus*, as has been suggested by some scholars.¹¹⁷ If this was the case, however, the influence would have been of a very general nature, for nothing in the reliefs betrays any hint at a novelistic motif. Ninus and Semiramis do not appear together and they are not depicted in love. As to Stephanus of Byzantium, he could of course have drawn on *Ninus*, but this is unlikely. It is difficult to imagine how the author of *Ninus* would in the plot of the novel have associated his hero with Aphrodisias. Rather, Stephanus relied on a historian, perhaps the shadowy Apollonius of Aphrodisias (*FGrH* 740) who wrote a work on Caria (*Καρίκᾱ*) and is explicitly referred to by Stephanus in no fewer than twenty lemmata of his geographical dictionary. All things considered, we cannot rule out a certain impact of the novel on the further popularity of the Ninus legend at Aphrodisias, but it would not be sensible to believe that *Ninus* decisively shaped this tradition. The novel is a product of the Aphrodisian claim on Ninus rather than its origin.

The Aphrodisians evidently made an effort to make Ninus part of the legendary past of their city. The idea that an Aphrodisian author adapted this part of his legendary past in *Ninus* suggests itself. As with Chariton's Mithridates, satrap of Caria, a certain *campanilismo* could also be felt in *Ninus*, when the king leads 'Greek and Carian troops' to Armenia (*col.* B.II, lines 3–4 S&W: τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ Καρικὸν . . . σύνταγμα). What is more, the author might have picked up on the oriental tradition at Aphrodisias. While we do not have good evidence for a specifically Assyrian tradition,¹¹⁸ a general interest in the Persian Empire—in which Assyria was after its fall incorporated—can account for the choice of subject of the *Ninus* author,

¹¹⁷ Cf. Yıldırım 2004, 43–4; also Simon 1998, 182–3 who follows older scholarship in putting the relief as late as the third century AD.

¹¹⁸ Chaisemartin 1997, 36 considers an 'Assyrian reading' of the many small oriental figures on public and funerary monuments at Aphrodisias. In the end, however, she prefers to associate them with Troy and Trojan fashion.

very much as it can for the prominent role of Persia in Chariton.¹¹⁹ After all, Ctesias, the principal Greek source for later Greek stories about Ninus and Semiramis, had already started his lost *Persica* with three books on Assyrian history.

Aphrodisias is of course not the only place in the Greek world in which we find testimonies of the legend of Ninus and Semiramis. There are other cities in Asia Minor and Syria which associated themselves with the famous Assyrian rulers. Perhaps their claims were motivated by Ninus' reported conquests in these geographical areas (cf. Diod. Sic. 2.2.3). Semiramis enjoyed a certain popularity in Syria not least because of her mother, the 'Syrian goddess'. There was also considerable confusion about the designations 'Syria' and 'Assyria' in antiquity.¹²⁰ Compared to Aphrodisias, however, evidence that Ninus and Semiramis enjoyed an early and wide-ranging importance in the places in question is scarce. There appears to be no parallel for the Aphrodisian cult of Zeus Nineudios. Depictions of Ninus and Semiramis, either of one of them alone or together as a couple, are extremely rare in the Graeco-Roman world.¹²¹ Other than the Aphrodisian relief, our evidence consists of two references to lost representations of Semiramis, as well as of two mosaics and two coins. The references are to a painting by Aetion (Plin. *HN* 35.78), entitled 'Semiramis—from slave girl to queen' (cf. Diod. Sic. 2.20.3–5) and to images from the temple at Hierapolis (Luc. *De dea Syr.* 39–40; cf. *ibid.* 33). The mosaics, dating to c. AD 200, were found in two cities of the Roman province of Syria (today Southern Turkey), one at Daphne near Antioch on the Orontes, the other at neighbouring Alexandretta. They are probably inspired by *Ninus*, as the young king is shown gazing at a portrait of Semiramis—a scene which is not extant in our fragments but could easily have occurred in the original work.¹²² The two coins come from the city of Anineta on the border of Caria and Lydia, and date to the second and third centuries AD. They show a portrait bust of Ninus as a ruler on the obverse. The later coin has the inscription *KTI* (*ΣΤΗΣ*), 'founder'. Apart from Aphrodisias, then, at

¹¹⁹ Cf. above, ch. 2, 56–7.

¹²⁰ Cf. e.g. Frye 1992.

¹²¹ Cf. P. L. de Bellefond's articles in *LIMC* 6 (1992), 907–8 on Ninus, and *LIMC* 7 (1994), 726–7 on Semiramis.

¹²² Cf. Quet 1992.

least one other city of Asia Minor claimed descent from Ninus. To complete this picture with a further literary reference: Stephanus of Byzantium attests that at least one other city in the region, Thyatira in Lydia, was proud of Semiramis, who would, in a distant past, have been its eponymous hero.¹²³

Could any of the aforementioned places cast serious doubt on the assumption of an Aphrodisian author of *Ninus*? The most interesting case is Antioch on the Orontes. The Suda knows of one Xenophon of Antioch who wrote an 'erotic history' entitled *Babyloniaca* (Ξενοφῶν, Ἀντιοχεύς, ἱστορικός. Βαβυλωνιακά· ἔστι δὲ ἐρωτικά). He figures on top of a list of three 'historians' (ἱστορικοί) named Xenophon—probably a *nom de plume*—who all wrote 'erotic histories' (ἐρωτικά). The second 'historian' is our well-known Xenophon of Ephesus, author of the *Ephesiaca*, the third one Xenophon of Cyprus with his *Cypriaca*. Lionello Levi raised the possibility that the *Babyloniaca* was identical to *Ninus*, whose author would then be Xenophon of Antioch.¹²⁴ Attractive as this suggestion is, it lacks any evidence. Perhaps the compiler of the Suda confused Iamblichus' *Babyloniaca* with that of 'Xenophon of Antioch'. The name 'Xenophon' itself makes the Suda entry somewhat suspicious. Take the case of Xenophon of Ephesus: most scholars harbour doubts that the author of the *Ephesiaca* was in actual fact named Xenophon or that he really came from Ephesus. Even if the *Babyloniaca* and *Ninus* were one and the same work, there is a good chance that 'Xenophon of Antioch' is an extrapolation from it. 'Xenophon' would have referred to Xenophon of Athens—whose *Cyropaedia* is a particularly close model for *Ninus*—and 'Antioch', the name of the Syrian capital, might have exploited the notorious confusion between Assyria and Syria. 'Antioch' would then echo the setting of the work in question, not as plainly as, but similarly to Ephesus and *Ephesiaca*, Cyprus and *Cypriaca*. In favour of an association of Antioch with *Ninus*, Martin Braun's hypothesis could be recalled according to which this novel originated in nationalistic feelings of the Syrian (and Mesopotamian)

¹²³ Cf. Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Θυάτεια*; Yıldırım 2001, 123 with further literature.

¹²⁴ Cf. Levi 1895, 19.

people under the Seleucids.¹²⁵ But this idea has never been borne out in any detail and does not provide substantial pointers. If we look in Ninus for a political significance, which could have drawn attention to this figure and inspired a novelist (though not necessarily in a political way), then we are left with Aphrodisias. Nowhere, not even in Antioch, do we have such old and such frequent indications of a remarkable role played by Ninus in the construction of civic identity. In Aphrodisias we get three different kinds of evidence: the cult of Zeus Nineudios, attested as early as the first century BC, the reliefs in the basilica, from c. AD 100, and Stephanus' account of the city name 'Ninoe'. In Antioch, by contrast, we have the mosaics, derived from the novel and dating to c. AD 200; Libanius' information, from the fourth century AD, that the temple of Artemis at Antioch was founded by Semiramis (*Or.* 11. 59); and the 'Xenophon of Antioch' of the Suda. Surely Aphrodisias emerges from this picture as the most likely place in which a first-century author could have found inspiration for *Ninus*. What is more, since the fragments of *Ninus* focus on the male hero we might expect some prominent role for Ninus in a local tradition. But no legend about Ninus and Antioch is known. The same can be said of Syrian Hierapolis and Lydian Thyatira whose legends refer to Semiramis only. There remain just the coins of Anineta, which lay claim to Ninus' foundation of the city. But Anineta was a comparatively insignificant place about which we know next to nothing.¹²⁶ Perhaps the more provincial neighbour Anineta—where our evidence starts in the second century AD—modelled its self-representation on the more central Aphrodisias—where our first piece of evidence, the worship of Zeus Nineudios, comes from the first century BC. Apart from that, an author from Anineta would most probably have had relations with Aphrodisias some forty kilometres south-east. On present evidence, then, Aphrodisias is the single place in the Graeco-Roman world with the strongest ties to Ninus. This, together with the clues discussed further above, suggests that the author of *Ninus* had close ties with Aphrodisias—the simplest way to think about these ties is of course

¹²⁵ Cf. Braun 1938, 6–13.

¹²⁶ Cf. Robert 1980, 325–34. Robert suggests that the name 'Anineta', too, might be derived from Ninus (*ibid.* 332).

that he was Aphrodisian. Finally, to bring my argument full circle: since the Aphrodisians clearly had an interest in Nero and Armenia, the Aphrodisian connection of our author supports the thesis that *Ninus* was to some extent inspired by the emperor and his Armenian campaigns.

Ninus shares a number of characteristics with *NAC*: a (probable) link with Aphrodisias, a similar period of composition, the historical setting (if not in the same manner), a matching register of language and style. Add to this the narratives about military exploits of the hero and a penchant for the representation of legal ambiguities and conflicts, abounding in *Chariton*¹²⁷ and recognizable in *Ninus* in the discussion about the minimum marriage age. Was *Chariton* the author of *Ninus*, as Stephens and Winkler contemplate?¹²⁸ Perhaps, but I hesitate. While *Ninus* resembles *NAC* in certain respect it is not nearly as close as *M&P* or *Chione*. At least in our fragments the hero receives far more attention than the heroine whose name is never so much as mentioned. More than that, *Ninus* is a king known to history and legend. Although the author of *Ninus* surely added a fair bit of fiction, his characters and adventures are not as newly invented as *Chariton*'s. Henri Weil suggested that *Ninus* was a story about the coming of age of a young prince and called it, because of its likeness to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, a *Ninopédie*.¹²⁹ Dihle and Hägg have in similar ways felt that the plot and the characters of *Ninus* appealed to a different taste from that encapsulated in *NAC* or *M&P*.¹³⁰ If *Chariton* had a formula, he did not repeat it in *Ninus*. Despite using the same *register* of language, we do not get the same close *parallels* of word forms and phrases that can be observed in *M&P* and *Chione*. On the contrary, Ewen Bowie has pointed out that there are characteristic differences in detail, such as the form *οἰσθα* in *Ninus*, where *Chariton* always has *οἶδας*.¹³¹ I would like to add a detail that seems to me significant. *Ninus* refers in a different way

¹²⁷ Cf. e.g. Karabélias 1990.

¹²⁸ Cf. S&W 26–7.

¹²⁹ Weil 1902.

¹³⁰ Cf. Dihle 1978, 55; Hägg 1987, 199 n. 78.

¹³¹ Cf. Bowie 2002, 55, where *οἰσθα* is a misprint for *οἶδας*. Cf. *Ninus col.* A.II, line 22 and A.III line 25 S&W; Ch. 1.7.2 (*οἶδα* MS, lectio incerta); 1.12.3; 2.4.7 (*οἶδα* P. Oxy. 2948); 3.4.8; 5.2.5; 7.6.10. Reardon always adopts *οἶδας*.

from NAC to Aphrodite. In chapter two I have pointed out that Chariton always has a personal conception of Aphrodite and always refers to her as if she were someone to talk to and interact with. The goddess never stands metonymically for 'love', 'passion', or 'sex'. The single reference to Aphrodite in our fragments of *M&P*, discussed above, fits in with this personal conception. The two references in *Ninus* are different:

col. A.I, lines 18–19 S&W: ἀδιάφθ]ορον καὶ ἀπεί[ρατον Ἀφροδί]της
... unblemished and without experience of Aphrodite...

col. A.II, lines 24–7: καὶ εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἤισθανόμην Ἀφροδίτης μακάριος ἂν ἦν τῆς
στερρότητος

Had I not become aware of Aphrodite, I might still have been rejoicing in my impregnable strength.

'Aphrodite' here clearly means Ninus' erotic passion and not a person. For one thing, this seems to speak against Chariton's authorship of *Ninus*. For another thing, we might push the idea a little further and venture an (admittedly impressionistic) auxiliary argument about Chariton's chronological priority: if the relation to the Aphrodisian cult of Aphrodite can be linked with the invention of the first love novel, as suggested in chapter two, Chariton's vivid and lifelike references to Aphrodite seem to be more original and earlier than the run-of-the-mill metonymical occurrences in *Ninus*.

All in all, I find it more likely that *Ninus* was written after NAC than the other way round. The author of *Ninus* might well have been Chariton's first hanger-on: he would have followed Chariton's formula with different material (royal history) and taken inspiration, much more obviously than Chariton ever did, from current affairs. It is of course conceivable that Chariton reinvented himself and wrote several novels in a different style. But this is more speculative and should not be our heuristic assumption. I would like to give a final thought to the scenario that *Ninus* was written before NAC. I do not see a good reason why this scenario should be preferred, but clearly there is a chance that *Ninus* did not take inspiration from Nero and that the way our authors think of Aphrodite has nothing to do with their chronological order. In this case the author of *Ninus* might have happened to write before Chariton. If so, Chariton would

not be the inventor of the love novel. He would still be, however, the inventor of the eventually successful formula of the love novel. Royal romance did not have a future to speak of. With the sole exception of *Sesonchosis*, all our extant and fragmentary love novels follow the pattern of *NAC* rather than *Ninus* as far as fictionality and focus on the heroine are concerned. Chariton took the decisive step. It is in this sense that Bryan Reardon has recently declared Chariton as the inventor of the Greek novel.¹³²

EXCURSUS 2: ANTONIUS DIOGENES AND THE APHRODISIAN NOVEL

I would like to conclude this chapter with the broader hypothesis that the early ideal novel was an all-Aphrodisian affair. If Chariton was the author of *NAC*, *M&P*, and *Chione*, and if the author of *Ninus* was Aphrodisian, all first-century love novels would have been written in this city. Further, I have already hinted above at the possibility that Antonius Diogenes was Aphrodisian. The link between Antonius and Aphrodisias has been established by Glen Bowersock in his Sather lectures, *Fiction as History*. Bowersock draws attention to the fact that the conjunction of the Roman *nomen* Antonius and the Greek *cognomen* Diogenes occurs in only one place in the Graeco-Roman world as we know it, at Aphrodisias.¹³³ The celebrated 'lawgiver' (*νομοθέτης*) Lucius Antonius Claudius Dometinus Diogenes has long been known from a fine and well-preserved statue from the Odeion, dating to the Severan period.¹³⁴ Further evidence came to light with the discovery of a sarcophagus bearing the inscription of a certain Flavius Antonius Diogenes (*IAph2007* 13.604).¹³⁵ While the sarcophagus is from the third century AD, the additional *nomen* Flavius indicates that at least one member of the family was granted Roman citizenship by the Flavian Emperors (AD 68–96). Antonius

¹³² Cf. above, ch. 1, 9.

¹³³ Bowersock 1994, 38–9.

¹³⁴ Cf. *PIR*² C 853; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 186; Zanker 1996, 244–5.

¹³⁵ Cf. Jones and Smith 1994, 461–72.

Diogenes most probably did not write before this time. Modern scholarship has often placed him in the second century AD. Bowersock ventures a slightly earlier date, arguing, as Hallström did before, that Antonius' dedicatee Faustinus might have been the same man as the patron of the Roman epigrammatist Martial.¹³⁶ This together with the idea that Antonius' interest in Scythia would have been stirred by the military relevance of this area under Domitian (AD 81–96) leads Bowersock to put the novel in the reign of this emperor or a little later. Ewen Bowie, by a similar reasoning, conjectures that Antonius' *The Incredible Things beyond Thule* was inspired by Agricola's circumnavigation of Britain, some time between AD 80 and AD 83, in the course of which Roman troops came as far as what they thought was Thule. Since this is reported in Tacitus' *Agricola* (10), published in AD 98, Bowie suggests that Antonius wrote his novel in the decade or so after the *Agricola*, which would have brought the event to broader attention.¹³⁷ Be that as it may, the important thing here is that none of those dates conflicts with the assumption that Antonius belonged to the Aphrodisian family, a member of which acquired Roman citizenship under Domitian or a little earlier. Antonius' Aphrodisian provenance would not only easily account for his potential references to earlier (Aphrodisian) love novels, suggested above for *M&P* and *Ninus*. It would clinch the idea of a novelistic tradition at Aphrodisias and lend weight to the related thesis that the origin of the love novel lies in this city.

¹³⁶ Cf. Hallström 1910, 201; Bowersock 1994, 37–8; on Faustinus see *PIR*² F 127. Martial dedicates his books 3 (cf. 3.2) and 4 (cf. 4.10) to Faustinus.

¹³⁷ Cf. Bowie 2002, 58–60.

Novel poetics

1. AUTHORIAL INTRUSIONS

The narrator of *NAC* makes himself felt from the very beginning. His name is the first word we read (1.1.1):

Χαρίτων Ἀφροδισιεύς, Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ ῥήτορος ὑπογραφεύς, πάθος ἐρωτικὸν ἐν Συρακούσαις γενόμενον διηγέσσομαι.

My name is Chariton, of Aphrodisias, and I am clerk to the attorney Athenagoras. I am going to narrate¹ to you a love story that took place in Syracuse.

As discussed earlier, there is no good reason to doubt the non-fictional character of this introduction.² Unless evidence to the contrary appears, we should assume that ‘Chariton’ is the real name of the author. Chariton, then, does not distinguish between author and primary narrator and neither do I. Such a distinction is certainly helpful in cases where the voices of author and narrator appear to diverge. But nowhere in *NAC* is this discernable. The question of just what an author is could of course be pondered endlessly in theoretical terms. But nothing would be gained, for instance, by entering into a discussion about the death and resurrection of the author in modern literary theory,³ a story more twisted than any romantic *Scheintod*. Currently the pendulum seems to be swinging away from the radical denial of authorial instances towards more varied approaches following our actual practices of thinking and

¹ Cf. for this translation below, ch. 6, 217.

² Cf. above, ch. 2, 49–50.

³ Cf. e.g. Barthes 1967; Jannidis 1999.

speaking about authors. When I speak about the author in the context of poetics, I refer to an entity that produces and organizes the text according to a number of guiding ideas. This entity is the literary intent, struggle, and determination of the historical author, implied in his text and thus present for his readers. In the following I give a number of examples in which this presence is palpable and relevant to the poetics of invention of *NAC*.

Many scholars have been aware of the unusually strong involvement of the author-narrator of *NAC* as organizer and commentator of his story.⁴ This is evident in comparison with the extant ideal novels, and *a fortiori* with our fragments in which there are no authorial intrusions at all. Striking instances in *NAC* include the long recapitulations at the beginnings of books five and eight, the explanation of the structure of the novel in 8.1.4, or Chariton's repeated 'claims of originality', as I term them in my analysis given in chapter five. These intrusions perform a number of functions according to their nature and place of occurrence:⁵ they may structure the story, guide the reader, or advertise particularly inventive motifs such as Chaereas' self-denunciation in court (1.5.4).⁶

Why does Chariton intervene so heavily in his story? Scholars interested in Chariton's use of historiography have pointed out that his authorial intrusions pick up on historiographic techniques.⁷ To some extent this is certainly the case, but it does not apply to all the related passages. Historiography could be a model for mere recapitulations, information about the narrative sequence, or the odd sententious remark. The historiographic explanation is less successful with metaliterary reflections as in 8.1.4, or with Chariton's recurrent claims of originality. What is more, the reference to historiographic techniques does not answer the question why, of all novelists, it was Chariton who preferred them to different and perhaps subtler ways of intervening in a fictional story.

⁴ Cf. e.g. Hägg 1971, 96, 137, and 215–21; Stark 1984, 258–60; Ruiz Montero 1988, 86–7; Fusillo 1989, 117–19; Stark 1989, 98–9; Hunter 1994, 1066; Morgan 2004, 479.

⁵ Morgan 2004 gives a pithy summary of relevant passages and discusses their potential function(s) in the novel.

⁶ Cf. below, ch. 5, 175–6.

⁷ Cf. e.g. Bartsch 1934, 11–16; Zimmermann 1961, 330–1; Stark 1984, 259; Hunter 1994, 1066 (as one option among others).

My suggestion is that Chariton's authorial intrusions can be read as indicative of his coming to terms with a new form of writing. On the one hand, the general presence of strong authorial guidance might have helped both author and readers to develop and follow an unusual account. On the other hand, particular strains in Chariton's apparatus of authorial comment seem to make particular points in his 'poetics of invention'. The most remarkable point of all may be his metaliterary address to the reader in 8.1.4. I discuss this passage in the following section, as a start to my examination of Chariton's 'poetics of invention'. This most explicit authorial intrusion will lead on to my study of more subtle and implied interventions by the author. In all cases considered, however, the voice of the author seems to be related to his working on an unprecedented poetics.

2. ARISTOTLE, THE HAPPY ENDING, AND A NEW 'TRAGICOMEDY'

At the beginning of his final book, Chariton comes to a critical point in his novel. So far, he has written what could be dubbed a 'tragedy'. Everything looked good for the lovers, then jealousy got the better of Chaereas, he succumbed to his anger, the couple were separated, and the rest is a story of ill fortune, great suffering, and vain hopes. But then Chariton makes an appearance and turns the plot round by attaching a happy ending. As if his readers do not know what to expect, he takes the stage and explains to them what he is doing (8.1.4):

νομίζω δὲ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο σύγγραμμα τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἥδιστον γενήσεσθαι· καθάρσιον γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σκυθρωπῶν. οὐκέτι ληστεία καὶ δουλεία καὶ δίκη καὶ μάχη καὶ ἀποκαρτέρησις καὶ πόλεμος καὶ ἄλωσις, ἀλλὰ ἔρωτες δίκαιοι ἐν τούτῳ <καὶ> νόμιμοι γάμοι.

And I think that this last chapter will prove the most agreeable to its readers: it cleanses away the grim events of the earlier ones. There will be no more pirates or slavery or lawsuits or fighting or suicide or wars or conquests; now there will be lawful love and sanctioned marriage.

The word *καθάρσιον* ('purifying', 'cleansing') in an explicit piece of literary theory leaves little doubt that Chariton here looks to Aristotle's *Poetics*,⁸ namely the celebrated definition of tragedy which includes the following passage: 'through pity and fear tragedy effects relief to these and similar emotions' (1449b28: δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν). The discussion about the exact sense of this phrase has a long history and is not likely ever to end. The most widely accepted reading, however, associates *κάθαρσις* ('purification', '[act of] cleansing') with the pleasure that the spectators take in watching pity (*ἐλεος*) and fear (*φόβος*) on stage. This pleasure would cleanse the audience—as if homoeopathically—of these and similar emotions. The link of *κάθαρσις* with the specific pleasure (*ἡδονή*) of tragedy and its principal emotions is confirmed by *Poetics* 1453b11–12: 'the poet must by representation produce the pleasure which comes from feeling pity and fear' (τὴν ἀπὸ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου διὰ μιμήσεως δεῖ ἡδονὴν παρασκευάζειν τὸν ποιητὴν). Chariton appears to have Aristotle's pleasure in mind when he is announcing that readers will find his last book the 'most pleasant' (*ἡδιστον*) of all. In view of this Aristotelian context, a terminological echo of the *Poetics* may be perceived as early as the beginning of Chariton's story, considering that he introduces his narrative as an 'erotic passion/emotion' (1.1.1: *πάθος ἐρωτικόν*) and that Aristotle defines his *κάθαρσις* precisely as a 'cleansing from passions/emotions' (*παθημάτων κάθαρσιν*).

The allusion to Aristotle is tangible, but what does Chariton mean? Literally he says that his last book will give readers the most pleasure and that it will cleanse them from the grim events of the earlier ones. No matter how we read Aristotle, this does not match the sense of the *Poetics*: Aristotle wants to purge disturbing emotions through the representation of disturbing emotions; Chariton wants to cleanse the representation of sad events through the representation of happy events. It has been suggested that Chariton either did not understand Aristotle, or that he trivialized or sentimentalized the

⁸ For brief surveys of Chariton and Aristotle cf. Ruiz Montero 1994a, 1018–19; ead. 1996a, 50–1; Hägg 1974 and Reardon 1991 generally apply Aristotelian literary theory to the form of romance.

stark concept of the *Poetics*.⁹ However, we should not assume a priori that Chariton got it wrong—after all he clearly did not intend to write a tragedy and therefore cannot reasonably be expected to stick to the Aristotelian definition. ‘Trivialization’ or ‘sentimentalization’ might be more to the point, but these terms imply that there is not much to say about Chariton’s adaptation of the *Poetics* because he just drags down something more powerful to a trivial and sentimental level; and this in turn suggests that Chariton does something completely ordinary, which has been done many times before. I propose the opposite, that Chariton is doing something revolutionary here: he adds a happy ending to an ideal love story in prose fiction. His wish to point out this central piece of his new poetics is, I think, the reason why Chariton goes to such lengths in addressing the reader in the first place.

The happy ending as such was well known in ancient literature. Aristotle attributes its use in tragedy to the weakness of the audience and finds it more appropriate in comedy (*Poetics* 1453a30–9). And in fact, we get a happy ending as a regular characteristic in New Comedy, whence it seems to have found its way into the general literary theory of rhetorical treatises.¹⁰ Chariton could easily have taken inspiration from here and theorized the happy ending of New Comedy in Aristotelian terms.¹¹ Still, as far as the history of Greek prose fiction is concerned, it seems that love stories prior to Chariton did not end well. Scholars have often drawn attention to the fact that ‘ideal’ erotic novellas in classical literature inevitably reach a tragic finale. Take, for instance, the story of Pantheia and Abradatas in Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* (books five to seven), which is often referred to as a protoromance: the story ends with Abradatas’ death in combat and Pantheia’s suicide over his tomb. John J. Winkler was struck by the emergence of mutual happy love with the Greek ideal novel and examined as comparative material a large number of novellas, taken

⁹ Cf. e.g. Müller 1976, 134 (misunderstanding or trivialization); Reardon 1982, 21–2 (sentimentalization).

¹⁰ Cf. Cic. *Inv.* 1.19.27 and below, ch. 6, 209–13.

¹¹ On Chariton and New Comedy cf. esp. Corbato 1968; Borgogno 1971; Crismani 1997, 27–47; Mason 2002. The shared elements, however, hardly indicate that New Comedy is the ‘origin’ of NAC (as Corbato and Borgogno believe), let alone of the ideal novel as a genre.

from authors such as Herodotus, Pausanias, Athenaeus, and others. He came out with a ratio of fifty to one in favour of tragic endings, with the one example of a happy ending (the story of Odatis and Zariadres recounted in Ath. 13.575, = Chares of Mytilene, *FGrH* 125 F 5) presumably being of oriental origin.¹² In this light, Chariton's happy ending is very much an innovation and the author has every reason to comment on it. The fact that both Chariton and Aristotle relate the happy ending to the taste of the audience—readers in Chariton, spectators in Aristotle—suggests once more that the novelist developed his comment with the philosopher in mind.

All these references to the *Poetics* in the context of an apparent literary innovation lead me to think that Chariton did not just trivialize or sentimentalize Aristotle's theory, but that he deliberately reinterpreted it to establish his own poetics of romance. We may even detect a playful comment on Aristotle in the superlative ῥῆδιστος: Chariton predicts that his readers—who seem to evoke the audience dismissed by Aristotle as weak—will find the last book with its happy ending 'the most agreeable'.¹³ The tragic, 'Aristotelian' pleasure of books one to seven is played off against the even greater pleasure of Chariton's happy ending in book eight. Ultimately, Chariton seems to out-Aristotle Aristotle in Aristotelian terms.

I have dealt with the innovation of the happy ending from the perspective of emotional impact. In Chariton's reinterpretation of Aristotelian theory, however, the aspect of plot and storytelling, too, has to be taken into account. While in Aristotle's words *κάθαρσις* cleanses emotions through emotions, Chariton speaks of a cleansing 'from the grim events' that happened in books one to seven through the happy events of book eight. The following enumeration of the related elements of plot—pirates, slavery, lawsuits etc. on the one hand; lawful love and sanctioned marriage on the other—surely imply emotional impact, but the focus is clearly on the plot elements as such and their occurrence at different points of the story. Albert Rijksbaron took this concern with storytelling as a clue to a similar

¹² Cf. Winkler 1994, 32–5; Bowie 2008, 30 considers that Athenaeus' choice to report this story might have been influenced by the ideal novels.

¹³ Reardon chooses the absolute superlative 'very agreeable' in his translation. On the assumption of a certain competition of Chariton with Aristotle, this meaning is less likely.

reading of Aristotle's difficult passage: he suggested that, like Chariton, Aristotle refers *κάθαρσις* to the handling of plot by the poet who would cleanse it from repulsive elements.¹⁴ The only remaining difference would be that in Chariton the repulsive elements form part of the author's own story and are cleansed in the course of his narrative; whereas in Aristotle the inappropriate elements are found in an earlier tradition which the tragic poet cleanses before he even starts to design his own plot. This difference seems to me significant and would in itself call for an acknowledgement of Chariton's originality. More generally and more importantly, the simplistic conclusion from Chariton about Aristotle is erroneous given that Chariton puts the theory of the *Poetics* creatively to his own use.

What, then, is the idea of Chariton's adaptation of the *Poetics* as far as storytelling goes? Chariton preserves the 'homoeopathic' side of Aristotle's *κάθαρσις*, but transfers it from emotions to elements of plot. The 'passion' to be cleansed is now first and foremost the 'erotic passion/emotion' which Chariton narrates (cf. 1.1.1: 'I am going to narrate to you an erotic passion/emotion', *πάθος ἐρωτικὸν . . . διηγέσμαι*). Chariton's adaptation could be characterized as a poetics of 'tragicomedies' in prose fiction, in a technical sense, of course, with 'comedy' not implying funny content but a happy ending. Happy plot elements are added to sad plot elements, and all these elements are represented by the series of narratives of which the whole *Narratives about Callirhoe* consists. That the plot elements in Chariton's concept materialize in narratives is confirmed by the way in which book eight progresses: it is filled with recountings of events, which now, however, end in poetic justice and are thus 'cleansed' of their previous tragic effects.¹⁵ If Aristotle cleansed emotions through the representation of emotions, Chariton cleanses narratives through the re-presentation of narratives. This procedure culminates in Chaereas' final recounting of the whole *Narratives about Callirhoe* (8.7.1–8.8.11), which fittingly takes place in a theatre filled with an enthusiastic audience. The theatrical staging of Chaereas' narratives evokes the Aristotelian context in which Chariton plays out his poetics of tragicomedies. I agree with Tomas Hägg's suggestion that the striking length and detail of this final recapitulation

¹⁴ Cf. Rijksbaron 1984.

¹⁵ Cf. for this idea below, ch. 6, 224–5.

of NAC is best explained as the enactment of the poetics of *κάθαρσις* laid out in 8.1.4.¹⁶ The triumphal happy ending cleanses the story as well as the internal audience of the Syracusan theatre which seems not least to be a device for guiding the actual readers of NAC.

I would like to add a final thought on the possibility that Chariton knew and considered the lost second book of the *Poetics*, on comedy. This cannot be ruled out with certainty, but it does not seem to affect my argument in any way. On the one hand, there is precious little we can know at all about *Poetics* book two. On the other hand, if we follow Richard Janko's reconstruction,¹⁷ nothing provides a promising link with Chariton's adaptation of dramatic theory. Aristotle's comic *κάθαρσις* would still be related to emotions (laughter) rather than plot. There would be no particular consideration of the happy ending and no concept of tragicomedy. Aristotle's paradigm of Old Comedy would not lend itself to Chariton's theory, reminiscent of New Comedy. And lastly, the fact that Chariton thinks of a 'cleansing from grim events' suggests an adaptation of tragic rather than comic theory anyway.

In conclusion, there are some general points to make about Chariton's appropriation of Aristotle's *Poetics*. First, it should be noted that no other novelist so programmatically expresses a piece of his poetics, and that no other novelist so programmatically refers to any piece of literary theory. Apart from Chariton, the most obvious allusion to the terminology of the *Poetics* appears to occur in Xenophon of Ephesus, where Anthia's faked—hence perhaps 'theatrical'—fit of epilepsy arouses 'pity and fear' in the onlookers (5.7.4: *ἦν δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἔλεος ἅμα καὶ φόβος*), but this passage is neither as detailed nor as carefully placed as Chariton's remarks at the beginning of his final book, precisely at the turning point from 'tragedy' to 'comedy'.

My second point is a consequence of the first: the references to Aristotle in our passage and its significance for the structure of NAC suggest to me that Chariton developed the idea and the plan for his novel at least partly in dialogue with the *Poetics*. This together with the fact that he proudly communicates his piece of poetics to his

¹⁶ Hägg 1971, 259–60.

¹⁷ Cf. Janko 1984 and, with a summary of the discussion so far, Janko 2001.

readers indicates that he was doing something unusual that needed to be accounted for. I hold that Chariton's adaptation and reinterpretation of a well-known piece of literary theory in 8.1.4 betrays his lack of a close practical model and hints at his invention of romance. A similar idea was suggested by Arthur Heiserman, although I think that his sense of Chariton's being inspired by 'theories of narrative art' is unclear as it stands (does dramatic theory fall within this category of 'narrative art?') and would need to be spelt out to be useful:¹⁸

... Chariton apparently composed one of the first extended prose fictions of a type which success on all literary levels has made seem puerile and inane—and ... he did so self-consciously. His almost obsessive play with the paradox and the intrigue, his arch comments about drama, recognition, reversal, and catharsis, all suggest that his art derives as much from theories of narrative art as from naive imitations of histories, biographies, travelers' tales, epics, plays, or rhetorical declamations.

What seems to me important in this passage is the notion that prose romance was something new in Chariton's time and that its apparent 'triviality' might cloud our judgement as to its originality at a certain point of literary history. This would be all the more true if, as I argue, Chariton not only wrote 'one of the first' ideal love novels but *the* first. If my readings in this and the following chapters make sense, there is certainly a great deal of self-consciousness involved in his invention, although I equally think that some of the characteristics pointed out by me just 'happened' in the process of coming to terms with a new form of writing, without being fully present in the mind of the author. This, however, does not make much difference for my purpose since the characteristics in question would still be related to the process of invention rather than being coincidental. As regards Chariton's handling of the literary tradition, for many of the phenomena addressed by Heiserman (paradox, intrigue, drama etc.) practical models seem to me more likely than theoretical ones, but I hope my discussion of Ch. 8.1.4 has shown that there is at least one

¹⁸ Heiserman 1977, 87. Cf. Cicu 1982, who argues for a reliance by Chariton on Aristotle's *Poetics* in many details. I remain unconvinced, however, by most of Cicu's analysis.

particular context in which literary theory was a significant inspiration to our author.

This brings me to my third and final point. Are we just dealing with a single, well-contained passage or is there more in Chariton which suggests a debt to Aristotle's *Poetics*? As far as individual passages are concerned, I cannot find any comparable part that evidently evokes the *Poetics*. Given that Aphrodite's rescuing appearance *ex machina* in 8.1.3 creates the happy ending subsequently theorized in 8.1.4, it seems plausible to me that her entrance marks another contrast with Aristotle, namely the philosopher's rejection of *dei ex machina* in *Poetics* 1454a37–b2. But this needs to be seen in the context of 8.1.4 and does not speak for a particular concern with Aristotle in other passages. As far as certain strains of metaliterary discourse are concerned, however, a more general inspiration by the *Poetics* is at least an attractive possibility. For what it is worth, my following two sections, on theatre and epic, can easily be associated with Aristotle. Apart from drama, epic poetry receives the greatest attention in the *Poetics*. Chariton not only takes inspiration from drama and epic for plot and motifs, but also makes them metaliterary devices for representing his narrative. It could be argued that these genres, as opposed, for instance, to the more practical model of historiography, helped stage Chariton's account rather than form its basic narrative discourse. This would be due not least to Chariton's developing his work with the theoretical categories of the *Poetics* in mind. Having said that, my brief examples do not attempt to prove this point in any detail but focus on what appears to me to be the most interesting aspects with regard to Chariton's poetics of invention.

3. THE GUIDANCE OF THEATRE

Theatre naturally provides a model for the literary imagination and it is unsurprising that ancient novelists often make use of theatrical metaphors and motifs. Some uses of theatre in Chariton, however, seem customized to come to terms with a new form of writing and to provide guidance for his readers who are not used to its conventions. Two examples stand out.

I just touch on the first example since I have already discussed Chariton's happy ending to which it is related. Hugh J. Mason has recently drawn attention to the tone of New Comedy at the beginning of *NAC* (1.4), where the defeated suitors contrive a frame-up to incriminate Callirhoe.¹⁹ Not only are the characters of this ruse reminiscent of New Comedy types, the mastermind of the plan is called the 'director of this drama' (1.4.2: ὁ δημιουργὸς τοῦ δράματος), he 'sets the scene' (1.4.8: συνέταττε τὴν σκηνήν), and his two accomplices are referred to as 'actors' (1.4.1 and 1.4.2: ὑποκριτής). The outcome, Chaereas' kicking Callirhoe and her apparent death, is certainly a grim event. Mason argues, however, that the distinct tone of New Comedy signals to readers that everything will be resolved in a happy ending. He links this idea with the novelty of Chariton's literary form: '...if Chariton does indeed stand close to the beginning of the development of the novel genre, he could not count on any generic assumptions about "novels" on the part of his readers, and would have to appeal to those of other literary forms.'²⁰ The phrase 'close to the beginning of the development of the novel' is cautious, but clearly Mason's argument would work less well if there had been ideal novels with a happy ending before Chariton.

A similar reasoning applies to my second example, the staging of large internal audiences which are emotionally affected by the fate of the protagonists. Maarit Kaimio has analysed the occurrence of such audiences in the five extant ideal novels and concludes that '[t]he consistent use of a loyal admiring, fearing, crying and pitying crowd accompanying the much more piercing emotions of the heroes and heroines is a development apparently peculiar to the early novel as we know it from Chariton.'²¹ A striking instance is Ch. 5.8.2 where the apparently dead Chaereas all of a sudden appears in the Babylonian court to defend himself. This scene is in many ways theatrical and the authorial comment that introduces the passage leaves no doubt that Chariton has the model of theatre in mind (although his explicit

¹⁹ Cf. Mason 2002, esp. 21–2.

²⁰ Mason 2002, 22.

²¹ Kaimio 1996, 66.

comparison with a ‘dramatist’ may also imply some competition between himself, the prose writer, and a ‘real’ dramatist):²²

τίς ἂν φράσῃ κατ’ ἀξίαν ἐκείνο τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ δικαστηρίου; ποῖος ποιητὴς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς παράδοξον μῦθον οὕτως εἰσήγαγεν; ἔδοξας ἂν ἐν θεάτρῳ παρῆναι μυρίων παθῶν πλήρει· πάντα ἦν ὁμοῦ, δάκρυα, χαρά, θάμβος, ἔλεος, ἀπιστία, εὐχαί.

Who could fitly express that scene in court? What dramatist ever staged such an astonishing story? It was like being at a play packed with passionate scenes, with emotions tumbling over each other—weeping and rejoicing, astonishment and pity, disbelief and prayers.

Another relevant feature, unparalleled in the other novelists, is the assemblies taking place in the theatre of Syracuse. I have discussed above the last and most remarkable of these assemblies at 8.7–8, which provides the setting for the recapitulation—and arguably the final *κάθαρσις*—of NAC in front of the Syracusan people. But Chariton stages two earlier assemblies, too. In the first one, at 1.1.11–12, the Syracusans are so enthralled by the love of Chaereas and Callirhoe that they organize a public petition for their marriage. The authorial comment here makes it clear that this is a new kind of scene, or at least that Chariton takes narrative pride in it: ‘Who could put into words that assembly that was dominated by Eros?’ (1.1.12: *τίς ἂν ἐρμηνεύσειε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνην, ἣς ὁ Ἔρως ἦν δημαγωγός*;). The second assembly, at 3.4.3–18, sees the trial of the pirate Theron, which is filled with reactions of the crowd to the stories of Chaereas and Theron: we hear of suspense (3.4.4), pity (3.4.10), joy, and grief (3.4.15). The historical truth behind these scenes is that theatres are attested as a place for political assemblies from the Hellenistic period onwards.²³ But Chariton’s dramatic and evidently unrealistic stagings cannot be explained in historical terms only. His assemblies in the Syracusan theatre turn the spotlight on the emotional impact of his love story on a large crowd. Rohde found this narrative device striking enough to condemn it as an artistic aberration:²⁴

²² Cf. for this aspect of competition my discussion of the passage in the context of ‘novelty’, below, ch. 5, 169–72.

²³ Cf. generally Kolb 1981, 88–99; for Aphrodisias and other cities in Asia Minor Roueché 1991, 102–3.

²⁴ Rohde 1914³ (1876), 527–8.

Ja die Volksversammlungen, welche übrigens nichts Wichtigeres als die Teilnahme an den Geschicken dieses einzelnen Paares zu kennen scheinen, brechen sogar bei der blossen Erzählung der Leiden ihrer Lieblinge im Chor und unisono in Thränenströme aus. In solchen und ähnlichen Seltsamkeiten spürt man freilich recht stark die Haltlosigkeit des späten Graeculus.

Chariton's seeming decadence, however, finds a neat literary motivation if we follow Kaimio in her reading of these and similar crowd scenes as a means for guiding the emotions of the readers of *NAC*. Kaimio also suggests—what Rohde whimsically implies—that Chariton's internal audiences take the role of the tragic chorus who are often equally affected by the plot and express their reactions to it.²⁵ Chariton would have 'consciously imitated this feature of the tragedy, since he has found it a very suitable vehicle for guiding his audience in the new form of narrative he is writing'.²⁶ In view of my preceding consideration of Aristotle in Chariton, I prefer to think about such internal crowds as a fictional counterpart to the real audiences analysed in Aristotle's *Poetics*. The larger question we should ask here is why precisely Chariton is so keen on putting the bond between his heroes and the audience on display. Kaimio anticipates my answer when she says that Chariton employs this device in order to guide his audience 'in the new form of narrative he is writing'. I only restate her idea in terms of invention: Chariton stages his internal audiences in the way he does because he invented a new form of writing; this new form of writing prompted questions about its nature, which Chariton in this case answered with the model of theatre. I am not sure if Chariton's actual readers were indeed in desperate need of an internal crowd explaining to them how to react to an ideal love novel. More important to me seems the fact that the author, perhaps overzealous in making a point of his poetics, devotes a great deal of effort to create this opportunity.

²⁵ Cf. similarly Cicu 1982, 133–4.

²⁶ Kaimio 1996, 67.

4. BECOMING HOMER

One of the most conspicuous features of *NAC* is the insertion of a large number of lines from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Chariton quotes Homer far more frequently than any other novelist does—about thirty to forty times depending on the definition of a quotation.²⁷ Achilles Tatius has two quotations from Homer, Heliodorus fifteen; Xenophon of Ephesus and Longus do not quote at all. A glance at quotations from other authors confirms that it really is Homer that makes the difference: there are only three non-Homeric quotations in Chariton (from Menander), four in Achilles (from Bacchylides, Hesiod, and two tragic adespota), and three in Heliodorus (from Euripides). It is not only the number of quotations from Homer that matters, but also the fact that Chariton himself in his role as author makes them. In all other novels all quotations from Homer are given to characters from the fictional world, which inevitably goes hand in hand with a certain authorial distance from the epic model. In *NAC*, however, quotations are usually not even announced or otherwise introduced but inserted as parts of Chariton's own narrative. And often there is indeed a parallelism of situation or emotion between the Homeric model and Chariton's reuse of it. So, to give but one example, at 2.9.6, where Chaereas appears in Callirhoe's dream, just as Patroclus appears in Achilles' dream at *Iliad* 23.66–7:

ταῦτα λογιζομένη δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ὕπνος ἐπῆλθε πρὸς ὀλίγον. ἐπέστη δὲ [αὐτῇ] εἰκὼν Χαιρέου, [ὁμοία] πάντ' αὐτῷ μέγεθος τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' εἰκνία, | καὶ φωνήν, καὶ τοῖα περὶ χροὶ εἴματα (ἔστο).'

All night long she pursued these thoughts; and as she did so, sleep stole over her momentarily, and a vision of Chaereas stood over her, 'like to him in stature and fair looks and voice, and wearing just such clothes.'

²⁷ Müller 1976, 121 counts 27 passages; Molinié 1979, 12 comes out at 31 quotations of 28 different passages (20 *Il.*, 8 *Od.*); Robiano 2000, 512–14 lists 36 quotations (21 *Il.*, 15 *Od.*) by a wider and 21 by a narrower definition (16 *Il.*, 5 *Od.*). My own addition, based on Reardon's edition, 2004a, results in 41 quotations overall (24 *Il.*, 17 *Od.*). Generally on quotations in the Greek novel and Chariton cf. e.g. Fusillo 1990b; Robiano 2000; Manuwald 2000; Hirschberger 2001. On different types of references to Homer in Chariton cf. esp. Esposito Vulgo Gigante 2004. For figures and statistical evidence I rely on Robiano 2000.

Naturally, Chariton looks to his own purposes: Chaereas does not ask Callirhoe to bury him, as Patroclus asked of Achilles; he advises Callirhoe about her unborn child. We might even detect mild irony in this romantic adaptation of the heroic model. But my point here is that Chariton does nothing to explicitly set himself apart from Homer. He quotes in his own voice, which takes on the emotional impact of the Homeric model. In a manner of speaking, Chariton *becomes* Homer.²⁸

A similar picture emerges if we look at Chariton's references to Homer as an author. Such references have not been studied in any detail before, which is why I present the four relevant passages from NAC for convenience:

1.5.2: ... ἀποκτείνει μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεθύμει, Πολύχαρμος δὲ ἐκώλυε, φίλος ἐξαίρετος, τοιοῦτος οἶον Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε Πάτροκλον Ἀχιλλέως.

... he desperately wanted to kill himself; but Polycharmus would not let him (Polycharmus was a special friend of his, as Patroclus was of Achilles in Homer).

2.3.7: σὺ ταύτην λέγεις ἀργυρώνητον; δικαίως οὖν οὐχ εἶδες τὸν πιπράσκοντα. οὐκ ἤκουσας οὐδὲ Ὀμήρου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς 'καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσιν | ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶσι;' (Od. 17.485–7)

Are you calling her a bought slave? No wonder you couldn't find the man who offered her for sale! Have you not heard what Homer tells us? 'And the gods, taking the shape of strangers from other lands, observe the insolence and the orderly behaviour of mankind.'

4.1.8: καὶ παραγυμνοῦσα τοὺς βραχίονας (καὶ τὰς κνήμας) ὑπὲρ τὴν Λευκώλενον καὶ Καλλίσφυρον ἐφαίνετο τὰς Ὀμήρου.

With her arms and ankles bared she looked more beautiful than Homer's goddesses of the 'white arms' and 'fair ankles'.

5.5.9: εἰσῆλθεν οὖν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, οἷαν ὁ θεὸς ποιητῆς²⁹ τὴν Ἑλένην ἐπιστῆναί φησι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πρίαμον (καὶ) Πάνθοον ἡδὲ Θυμοίτην' (Il. 3.146) δημογέρουσιν.

So she entered the courtroom looking like Helen when the divine poet describes her as appearing among the elders 'around Priam and Panthous and Thymoetes.'

²⁸ Cf. e.g. Müller 1976, 132; Robiano 2000, 521.

²⁹ Cf. Harmon 1923 on references to Homer as 'the poet' (ὁ ποιητής).

Three of those four references come from Chariton himself (1.5.2; 4.1.8; 5.5.9). Other novelists may refer to Homer in the guise of authorial figures belonging to the fictional world (the most significant cases being Heliodorus' Calasiris and Apuleius' Lucius), but they never do so in their own person.³⁰ The fourth passage in Chariton (2.3.7) might be considered an example of the indirect authorial references found in other novelists, as it is spoken by the man of letters, Dionysius, who sometimes has a surprising knowledge of future events of the plot.³¹ More importantly, however, all four references to Homer confirm the authority of the epic poet in a straightforward manner and evoke neat parallelisms between the heroic and the romantic works. In the other Greek novelists, this approach is only the exception to a rule of satirizing and defamiliarizing Homer. In Achilles Tatius (3.20.4–22.6), the appearance of a 'Homerist' leads up to a mimic spectacle;³² Homer is among other things referred to as an authority for homosexual love (2.36.3; cf. the related quotation 1.8.7); in a similar context occurs the punning 'Ομηρίζειν (8.9.3), which means 'imitate Homer', but can maliciously be read as 'rub thighs' or something similar (from ὁ μηρός, 'the thigh'). Heliodorus' Calasiris exoticizes Homer: we learn, for instance, that contrary to received wisdom Homer was a native of Egyptian Thebes and a son of Hermes; and perhaps most curiously, a 'shaggy growth of hair' on his thigh—again the play on ὁ μηρός—earned him his name (3.14.2). There is nothing like these mischievous references in Chariton. In his most antagonistic reference to the author Homer, at 4.1.8, he attempts to outshine him. But in doing so the Homeric terms ('white arms' and 'fair ankles') are simply

³⁰ This should be a complete list of explicit references to the author Homer in the other novelists (the person who makes the reference is in brackets): AT 2.1.1 (Clitophon); 2.15.3 (Clitophon); 2.36.3 (Menelaus); 3.20.4 (Satyrus); cf. 8.9.3 (priest): 'Ομηρίζων; Heliod. 2.22.5 (Calasiris); 2.34.5 (Calasiris); 3.4.1 (Calasiris); 3.12.2 (Calasiris); 3.13.3 (Calasiris); 3.14.1 (Cnemon); 3.14.2 (Calasiris); cf. 3.15.1 (Cnemon): 'Ομηρικῶς; 4.3.1 (Calasiris); 4.4.3 (Cnemon); 4.7.4 (Calasiris); cf. in the Roman novels: Petron. 2.4 (Agamemnon): *Homeris versibus*; 48.7 (Trimalchio); 59.2–7 (Trimalchio); 118.5 (Eumolpus); Ap. *Met.* 9.13.4–5 (Lucius): *priscae poeticae divinus auctor apud Graios*; 10.30.1 (Lucius).

³¹ Cf. below, ch. 7, 247–9.

³² To be precise, Satyrus and Menelaus only use the stage props of a Homerist who appears at 3.20.4. On the mimic performances of Homerists cf. Hillgruber 2000.

compared ('more beautiful') and in themselves accepted as the gold standard. Homer is an unquestioned literary authority that Chariton identifies with.

We may conclude that Chariton thinks of *NAC* to some extent, at least from a metaliterary point of view, as a recreation of Homeric epic and that he imagines himself a Homer in prose.³³ This conclusion is in itself open to different interpretations. The most attractive to me relates Chariton's self-presentation as a new Homer to his invention of a new form of writing. Being Homer is a big claim, even if one hides behind him, but it makes sense if one is about to take on something big and unusual, such as writing the first love novel. The larger-than-life image of the 'inventor' of Greek literature would have supplied Chariton's poetics with an authoritative point of reference in a hitherto unknown literary form.

The equation Chariton = Homer seems to have helped on the one hand Chariton to conceive *NAC* and on the other hand his readers to understand it. Moreover, it could be argued that this equation earned Chariton a certain reputation with later novelists, perhaps as a founding figure himself. The best indications of this can be found in a peculiar characteristic of Heliodorus' use of Homer. Heliodorus betrays a certain anxiety of influence: he is extremely careful about rewriting Homer exactly by not rewriting Homer. He takes on Homer by quotation and reference but makes him an Egyptian and ironically questions his authority. The author of the *Aethiopica* is very particular about finding his way around Homer. This seems to be emblematically expressed in 5.22.1–3, where Odysseus appears in a dream to Calasiris and rebukes him for sailing past Ithaca without visiting his house.³⁴ Perhaps this anxiety with regard to Homer also implies an anxiety with regard to Chariton. In terms of content, Heliodorus picks up on Chariton's—arguably by then classic—model of the ideal novel,³⁵ but there was no going back to Chariton's actually or seemingly naïve identification with Homer. Nor did Chariton's ideal model allow for the adoption of comic inversions of Homer as in Achilles Tatius.

³³ Cf. Müller 1976, 131.

³⁴ Cf. for the appearance of Homeric heroes as ghosts Philostratus' *Heroicus* (*passim*) and *Apollonius of Tyana* 4.12–13.

³⁵ Cf. for Chariton's status as a classic above, ch. 2, 79–82.

Heliodorus had to shake off Homer not least because he had to shake off Chariton who, in a way, *was* Homer. This may seem a rather far-fetched idea, and an obvious objection would be that playful rewritings of Homer were a general trend in the Second Sophistic—witness Dio's *Troicus* or Philostratus' *Heroicus*. I am not saying that Heliodorus did not look to this general tradition, but the suspicion that he was *also* motivated by wishing to escape Chariton's idea of Homer is bolstered by the practice of quotations from Homer in Chariton and Heliodorus. Patrick Robiano has shown that while Chariton quotes especially often from *Iliad* 18–24, the books containing the emotional model of the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus, those books are completely (and perhaps deliberately) ignored by Heliodorus. And while Chariton in a number of places exploits the relationship of Odysseus and Penelope, this does not happen in Heliodorus—oddly, it seems, as he otherwise quotes Homer fairly often and in many places resorts to the Odyssean model. This potential case of *oppositio in imitando* is further enhanced by a non-Homeric parallel: apart from Homer, Chariton and Heliodorus each quote precisely one author precisely three times, Chariton the *comic* Menander, Heliodorus the *tragedian* Euripides.³⁶

I would like to make a final point about Chariton's 'Homeric' *prosimetrum*, which leads on to my next section. If we look at the frequency of quotations and take the different lengths of our romances into consideration, it becomes clear that Chariton—thanks to Homer—is the only author of an ideal novel who writes a remarkable *prosimetrum*: in Chariton, we get one quotation every five (Budé) pages; in Heliodorus one every twenty-seven, and in Achilles one every thirty-nine pages. If we look for a similarly (in actual fact: even more) pronounced *prosimetrum* in the ancient novel we need to turn to Petronius, who is likely to have written under Nero, soon after Chariton. One account of the occurrence of *prosimetrum* in these very authors could be that Petronius, in a general parody of Chariton and his Homeric pretensions, also adopted the prosimetric form, expanded on its use and exchanged Chariton's quotations for his own verse. This impact of Chariton would reflect his prominent position in the

³⁶ Cf. Robiano 2000, 515.

tradition of the ideal novel and suggest that he was indeed its inventor. In my following discussion of *Milesian Tales* I consider a second account of Chariton's *prosimetrum*, which paints a different picture of the history of the ancient novel but equally points to his invention of the ideal novel.

5. MILESIACA, SYBARITICA, AND AN IDEAL WORLD

In chapter two I suggested that Chariton, stimulated to some extent by the geographical proximity of Aphrodisias to Miletus and their common cults of Aphrodite, took inspiration from the *Milesian Tales* of Aristides. I also pointed out some clues in *NAC* to Aristides' model: Theron's reference to Ionian luxury (1.11.7), the setting of a large part of the plot in Miletus, and Callirhoe's 'adultery story' which takes place in this city. Here, I would like to follow up these literary leads, take further low-life narratives into consideration, and throw into relief what I think is Chariton's general tendency to 'idealize' a more 'realistic' material. I start, however, with a suggestion about *prosimetrum*, which provides an alternative explanation of Chariton's insertions of Homeric lines.

In the scenario put forward at the end of the preceding section, Chariton would have hit upon the insertion of verse without a particular model in mind. On the contrary, he himself would have been *the* or *a* model for Petronius' *prosimetrum*. Chariton's probable knowledge of Aristides opens up another possibility. There is indirect but intriguing evidence for a prosimetric form of the *Milesian Tales*. On the one hand, we find a *prosimetrum* in narrative fictions which have often been associated with the *Milesian Tales*, in Petronius' *Satyricon* as well as in the 'new' Greek fragment of the Ass story, published in 2006 (*P. Oxy.* 4762). On the other hand, Aristides' Latin translator Sisenna supplies us with the fragment *nocte vagatrix*: '(female) wanderer in the night'.³⁷ Not only does this look like a

³⁷ Cf. for the fragments of Sisenna's translation Peter 1914–16, i, 297. For a survey of the discussion on Sisenna's *nocte vagatrix* see Jensson 2004, 297.

hexameter ending, it is also remarkably poetic in its choice of the unparalleled word *vagatrix*. What is more, the phrase ‘wanderer in the night’ suggests a disreputable context—perhaps a prostitute is referred to. If it could be assumed, then, that the *Milesian Tales* was interspersed with obscene verse, Chariton might again have opposed the model in imitating it: he would have adopted the *prosimetrum*, but in line with his general idealization exchanged the obscene verse for heroic passages from Homer. This would not detract from his invention of a new, that is ‘ideal’ form of prose narrative. Petronius, however, could in this scenario have looked to either the *Milesian Tales*, or Chariton, or both.

The idea that Chariton invented his new form to some extent by idealizing ‘realistic’ low-life narrative gains probability if we take a look at the broader tradition. If the *Milesian Tales* was the most notorious work of this sort, there were a number of other prose fictions of a similar tendency which perhaps followed Aristides’ lead. The most obvious example is the *Sybaritica* (*Sybaritic Tales*), referred to by Ovid (*Trist.* 2.417) and Martial (12.95.1–2). Lucian (*Ind.* 23; *Pseudol.* 3) even names its author—or rather hero?—, a certain Hemitheon. Apparently there was a pattern of linking these stories with cities known for their riches and their alleged debauchery. Miletus and Sybaris with their proverbial luxury are both excellent cases in point.³⁸ Now, it seems that Chariton used the *Sybaritica* in a similar way to the *Milesiaca*. Christos Fakas has identified a number of potential allusions in *NAC* to the former work.³⁹ His reading is based on the fact that Theron, when selling Callirhoe, fabricates a story about her Sybaritic origins. This story is told three times, which indicates a certain stress on it: first, when Theron offers Callirhoe to Dionysius’ steward, Leonas (1.12.8); second, when Leonas passes the information on to his master (2.1.9); and third, when Callirhoe is finally introduced to Dionysius (2.5.5). The first and the third passage in particular are worth closer attention. Let us start with Theron making up his yarn (1.12.8):

³⁸ Cf. Harrison 1998.

³⁹ Cf. Fakas 2005.

ἐμπορός εἰμι καὶ πλέω νῦν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, ὅθεν οὐδὲν οἶδα τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ. γυνὴ δὲ Συβαρίτις, εὐδαιμονεστάτη τῶν ἐκεῖ, καλλίστην ἄβραν ἔχουσα διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν ἐπώλησεν, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπριάμην.

I am a merchant, and I have just sailed in from Italy—that is why I know nothing about Ionia. A woman in Sybaris, the richest woman in the town, who had a very beautiful maid, was jealous of her and sold her; I bought her.

The immediate purpose of this story in the plot is to remind Leonas of the wealth of Sybaris and to increase the market value of Callirhoe. At a second level, however, there are erotic implications which seem to point on the one hand to the ribald stories that would have been told in the *Sybaritica*, on the other hand to the subsequent events in *NAC*. For some reason Theron's imagination associates Callirhoe and Sybaris with erotic events, arguably an adultery plot: this appears to be hinted at when he puts the conflict at Sybaris down to jealousy. Adultery stories were the most popular kind of low-life novellas and surely characterized the *Sybaritica*, too. At this point in *NAC*, however, Callirhoe is also about to enter into her own 'adultery story': she is going to marry her buyer, Dionysius, while her first husband, Chaereas, is still alive. Needless to say, each husband will be very jealous of the other. The constructed relation between Callirhoe and 'Sybaritic jealousy' seems to put Callirhoe's story, or *Narratives about Callirhoe*, on the same level as narratives in the vein of the *Sybaritica*. But Theron's story about Callirhoe's Sybaritic origin is manifestly false. This is not only clear to the reader, it is eventually pointed out by Callirhoe herself when she first explains herself to Dionysius. The latter, for his part, has already been doubting Theron's story. After he has introduced himself as the 'first man in Miletus' (2.5.4), he goes on (2.5.5.):

‘δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ σὲ περὶ σεαυτῆς εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πωλήσαντές σε Συβαρίτιν ἔφασαν κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν ἐκεῖθεν πραθεῖσαν ὑπὸ δεσποίνης.’ ἡρυσθρίασεν ἡ Καλλιρόη καὶ κάτω κύψασα ἡρέμα εἶπεν ‘ἐγὼ νῦν πρῶτον πέπραμαι· Σύβαριν δὲ οὐκ εἶδον.’

‘It is right and proper that you too should tell us the truth about yourself. The men who sold you said that you were from Sybaris and that your mistress was jealous of you and sold you away from there.’ Callirhoe blushed and bowed her head. ‘This is the first time’, she said in a low voice, ‘that I have ever been sold. I have never seen Sybaris.’

Again, at a basic level of plot there is nothing surprising about Callirhoe's setting the record straight: of course she denies coming from Sybaris; she simply does not come from there. At a metaliterary level, however, Callirhoe's answer might well imply a disassociation from the *Sybaritica*, or more generally from low-life stories of its kind. The link between Sybaris and the *Sybaritica* is corroborated by two clues in this scene: for one thing, the reiteration of Theron's story including the motif of jealousy; for another thing the fact that Callirhoe here is first introduced to her second husband Dionysius. It is as if Callirhoe marks the start to her own adultery story by a rejection of 'Sybaritic' adultery stories. This is ironic, but there is truth in the irony: Callirhoe is indeed not the heroine of a low-life narrative, but a more 'ideal' character. Her adultery story happens by accident and she will turn it into the story of a decent marriage. And still she is ashamed of it. Already her blushing before she utters the word 'Sybaris' speaks volumes. And she is similarly uncomfortable when she recounts her stories to Chaereas and comes to 'Miletus': 'but when she reached Miletus in her account of her adventures, Callirhoe became embarrassed and fell silent' (8.1.15: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Μίλητον τῷ λόγῳ, Καλλιρόη μὲν ἐσιώπησεν αἰδουμένη). Koen de Temmerman has recently suggested that later instances of Callirhoe's blushing are indicative of an evolution of her character towards 'something far less pure' than the innocent shame at 2.5.5.⁴⁰ But all four instances of Callirhoe's blushing in *NAC* (2.5.5; 2.7.5; 3.2.3; 8.4.9) are related to her 'adultery tale' and in my view they consistently contribute to creating a new ideal character type against the backdrop of 'realistic' adultery novellas. According to De Temmerman the last instance, in which Callirhoe hands Statira her farewell letter to Dionysius (8.4.9), is the most cunning because Callirhoe keeps the letter from Chaereas and hides it when bringing it to Statira. I think this secrecy is perfectly in line with all the other gestures of embarrassment and shame (compare, for instance, her falling silent in 8.1.15) that characterize Callirhoe as an ideal heroine who has overcome an infamous line in her literary ancestry.

⁴⁰ De Temmerman 2007, quotation at 246.

Another worry remains. Sometimes Chariton's adultery story is regarded as an adaptation of Helen's story in the Trojan myth. Chaereas would play the part of Helen's husband Menelaus, the 'Asian' Dionysius that of her abductor and lover Paris.⁴¹ It is true that the character of Callirhoe is indebted to Helen in many ways and this looks like a simple key to her bigamy. The suggested distribution of roles, however, is proved wrong by all specific references to Menelaus and Paris in *NAC*. In 2.6.1 and 5.2.8 the apparent 'Asian' Dionysius casts himself in the role of Menelaus who fears about his new Helen, Callirhoe. In 5.2.8 he specifies this fear by referring to the 'many Persian Parises' (πολλοὶ Πάριδες ἐν Πέρσiais). In 8.1.3, Chariton compares Chaereas with Paris because both received a similar gift. Add to this that Paris does not marry Helen and that Dionysius does not abduct Callirhoe. The Trojan myth does not seem to be the primary model for Callirhoe's adultery story. If anything, Chariton filtered the Trojan model through other texts like the adultery stories of the *Milesiaca* and *Sybaritica*.

The evidence laid out so far raises two questions: first, how do Miletus and Sybaris, *Milesian Tales* and *Sybaritic Tales* relate to each other; and second, what is Chariton's rationale behind his allusions to ribald storytelling? Regarding the first issue, it seems that Chariton deliberately and playfully brought Sybaris and Miletus together precisely because he was aware of the stories attached to their name. Theron, despite his feigned ignorance of Ionia (1.12.8), knows full well about the wantonness of this region and its self-indulgent people (1.11.7: ἄνθρωποι τρυφῶντες); more than that, he advertises the 'Sybaritic' slave-concubine Callirhoe as an easy-going alternative to remarriage for the widower Dionysius (1.12.9). The fictional inventor of Callirhoe's Sybaritic story has a fairly good knowledge about Ionian and Sybaritic debauchery—as if he were a reader of the *Milesiaca* and the *Sybaritica*. And as if to prove this point, his 'Sybaritic' story later merges into a 'Milesian' story when Callirhoe is introduced to Dionysius: the 'first man in Miletus' (2.5.4) expects to meet 'a (the?) most beautiful maid' (1.12.8: καλλίστην ἄβραν) of Sybaris, and from this summit meeting comes a new adultery story, *Narratives about Callirhoe*, or at least a central episode of it.

⁴¹ Cf. e.g. Laplace 1980, 113–14; Biraud 1985, 25 and 27; Morgan 2007a, 447.

Perhaps Chariton's juxtaposition of (the stories of) Miletus and Sybaris has a parallel or even a model in literary history. Ovid, in the second book of his *Tristia*, defends his artistic integrity which has been marred by his 'poem and mistake' (207: *carmen et error*), probably the publication of his *Ars Amatoria*. To demonstrate that erotic writing does not usually have the catastrophic consequences he suffered in being exiled to the Black Sea, Ovid compiles a catalogue of obscene works that did not harm their authors. In this catalogue, he places the *Sybaritica* right after the *Milesiaca*. The two are separated only by an unknown work of an unknown Eubius, which should not bother us here (*Tr.* 2.413–17):

iunxit Aristides Milesia crimina secum,
 pulsus Aristides nec tamen urbe sua est.
 nec qui descripsit corrumpi semina matrum,
 Eubius, impurae conditor historiae,
 nec qui composuit nuper Sybaritica, fugit.

Aristides connected the vices of Miletus with himself, yet Aristides was not driven from his own city. Neither Eubius, who described the destruction of the mother's seed, the composer of a foul tale, nor he who recently wrote the *Sybaritica*, were exiled.

From this passage—one of our major testimonies for both the *Milesiaca* and the *Sybaritica*—we learn among other things that the latter work was composed 'recently' (*nuper*) at the time of Ovid's writing, AD 9–10. The word *nuper* is relative and unlikely to be helpful in establishing a *terminus post quem* for NAC. But it seems fair to infer that the *Sybaritica* were not only composed after the *Milesiaca*, but were still some kind of novelty at the beginning of the first century AD. The same juxtaposition of the two works, without any designation of time, is probably also implied in Plutarch's well-known report about a copy of the *Milesiaca* which was found in the baggage of a dead Roman soldier at Carrhae (*Crass.* 32).⁴² Plutarch tells us how the Parthians in the senate of Seleucia poured scorn on the effeminate Roman readers of such literature. Then he turns the tables and mocks the Parthian general Surena for his double standards (32.5):

⁴² Cf. Jenson 2004, 298.

τοῖς μέντοι Σελευκεύσιν ἐδόκει σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ὁ Αἴσωπος εἶναι, τὸν Σουρήναν ὁρώσι τὴν μὲν τῶν Μιλησιακῶν ἀκολαστημάτων πύρην ἐξηρτημένον πρόσθεν, ὅπισθεν δὲ Παρθικὴν Σύβαριν ἐφελκόμενον ἐν τοσαῖσδε παλλακίδων ἀμάξαις.

The people of Seleucia, however, appreciated the wisdom of Aesop when they saw Surena with a wallet of obscenities from the *Milesiaca* in front of him, but trailing behind him a Parthian Sybaris in so many waggon-loads of concubines.

Like the men in Aesop's fable (229 Hausrath-Hunger) who carry one bag with the faults of others in front of them but drag another one with their own faults behind, Surena is said to ignore his 'Sybaris' while railing against the *Milesian Tales* of the Roman soldier. This is not a direct reference to the *Sybaritica* but to the proverbial debauchery of the city of Sybaris. In the literary context of this passage, however, Plutarch's pun works best if it includes an allusion to the *Sybaritica* as the literary counterpart to the *Milesian Tales*: Surena would be imagined as a potential reader of the *Sybaritica*, just as the Roman soldier was an actual reader of the *Milesiaca*.

I conclude from this that the *Milesiaca* and the *Sybaritica* were the most notable works of ribald storytelling in Chariton's time, and that they were naturally associated with each other. This explains why Chariton alludes to these very works. Both of them can be related to the setting of NAC, the *Milesiaca* to Miletus and Asia Minor, the *Sybaritica* to Magna Graecia. If beyond this any motivation is needed for the fact that in Chariton's story *Sybaritic Tales* join *Milesian Tales*, it could be argued that the *Sybaritica* followed the *Milesiaca* in literary history and were probably published in living memory, in the late first century BC or the early first century AD.

The second question, left open so far, is Chariton's rationale behind his allusions to the *Milesiaca* and *Sybaritica*. Fakas has accounted for this in terms of character portrayal: the 'Sybaritic' element would make Callirhoe a complex heroine who shares characteristics of both the low-life and the ideal tradition of storytelling. The implication here is that there was a tradition of the ideal novel before Chariton. In this case, we could of course explain the allusions to ribald storytelling as a means for adding nuances to Callirhoe's character and making her more interesting than previous romance heroines tended to be. However, I would like to suggest an alternative

account in which Chariton deliberately opposes his new, ideal story to the old tradition of low-life narrative. This reading, I think, does more justice to the fact that Theron's false 'Sybaritic' story and the true ideal story of Callirhoe are not on an equal footing. While Chariton plays out a kind of adultery story and so establishes a link with the low-life tradition, he also corrects this tradition and distances himself from it: Theron ends on the cross; the ideal scheme of things prevails.

William Hansen has drawn attention to a passage which seems to betray how Chariton's Callirhoe evolves to some extent from a substrate of comic anecdotes about Sybaris and its debauchery.⁴³ When Callirhoe, soon after her arrival at Dionysius' country estate, is taking a bath, the maidservants marvel at her delicate skin, and so does the author (2.2.2):

ὁ χρώς γὰρ λευκὸς ἔστιλβεν εὐθὺς μαρμαρυγῇ τινι ὅμοιον ἀπολάμπων·
τρυφερὰ δὲ σὰρξ, ὥστε δεδοικέναι μὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν δακτύλων ἐπαφὴ μέγα
τραῦμα ποιήσῃ.

Her skin gleamed white, sparkling just like some shining substance; her flesh was so soft that you were afraid even the touch of a finger would cause a bad wound.

As Hansen shows, extreme tenderness of skin and flesh was a topos about people from Sybaris (Ael. *VH* 9.24; Sen. *Dial.* 4.25). Fakas objects that these examples refer to men, not women, and that delicate flesh belongs to the language of art criticism.⁴⁴ If we had only this scene in the bath I would agree, but considering the whole 'Sybaritic' context discussed above, Hansen's suggestion—which does not exclude the language of art criticism—seems to be plausible. More important, however, is the idea of an 'idealization' of storytelling that Hansen illustrates with the help of this example: what used to be a comic trait of the Sybarites becomes an ideal characteristic of Callirhoe. Expanding on this idea, I think that Chariton invented *NAC* to some extent by idealizing characters, plots, and motifs from previous works of low-life narrative, most prominently the *Milesiaca* and the *Sybaritica*. It is true that Hansen

⁴³ Cf. Hansen 1997.

⁴⁴ Fakas 2005, 413–14; cf. Hunter 1994, 1074–5.

does not refer to the *Sybaritica* or other particular works of low-life narrative. But the *topoi* he talks about were probably the kind of material that the *Sybaritica* would have been based on, and the process of idealization he describes is a general possibility inherent in storytelling. It is also true that this process affects primarily the character Callirhoe, but then Chariton's novel is precisely *Narratives about Callirhoe*. The intertextual relations of the heroine are the most interesting intertextual relations of the work. That Chariton's 'Callirhoe' is in our (Sybaritic and Milesian) context compared to other stories may also be indicated by Dionysius' remark at 2.5.10, soon after Callirhoe's denial of her Sybaritic origin. Dionysius tells her that 'even a splendid narrative does not compare to you' (*πᾶν ἐστί σου σμικρότερον λαμπρὸν διήγημα*). Perhaps this comment exploits the self-referential potential of *διηγήματα* in Chariton, which I discuss in chapter six, and plays with the fact that Callirhoe herself is part of *Narratives about Callirhoe* (*Τὰ περὶ Καλλιρόην διηγήματα*). These narratives, it is understood, stand head and shoulders above the best narratives that were told in previous low-life stories.

It seems to me that Hansen's isolated example of idealization in Chariton is only the tip of an iceberg. I have just suggested that idealization is at work in the larger context of Chariton's drawing on low-life narratives. Idealization, however, may also be regarded as a general pattern in Chariton's handling of the historical and literary tradition. As far as the former is concerned, a good example is what Chariton makes of the historical information about his heroine and her father. History knows Callirhoe as an anonymous daughter of the Syracusan general Hermocrates. Although Hermocrates played a prominent part in the defeat of the Athenian expedition, he was, during his subsequent involvement in Asia, exiled from Syracuse by the radical democracy. Eventually he met a violent death in an armed attempt to take over Syracuse. When Dionysius I, who helped Hermocrates in his failed attempt, managed to seize power in Syracuse, he married Hermocrates' daughter. But soon resistance formed and a group of rebels raided Hermocrates' house. His wife was so severely assaulted that she killed herself afterwards: 'she... was terribly and outrageously abused in her person by the seditious Syracusans, and in consequence put an end to her own life' (Plut. *Dion* 3.1–2:

ταύτην... ἀποστάντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι δεινὰς καὶ παρανόμους ὕβρεις εἰς τὸ σῶμα καθύβρισαν, ἐφ' αἷς προήκατο τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως).⁴⁵ What does Chariton do? On the one hand, he presents Hermocrates as an ideal leader who is loved by his citizens; on the other hand, he gives his daughter a beautiful name and makes her the irresistible star of her home town and the world. The historical tragic ending of each is replaced by a romantic happy ending. As far as the literary tradition is concerned, a further example of idealization is the 'ideal' transformation of the motif of Rumour which I examine in detail in chapters seven and eight: here, Chariton changes a hitherto profoundly ambivalent concept into a straightforward agent of romance. If the idealization of particular narratives like the *Milesiaca* and the *Sybaritica* accounts only partly for Chariton's invention of the ideal novel, the general process, I think, lies at the heart of his poetics.

6. PAST ATHENS

Athens is a prominent subject and point of reference in many prose writings of the period in which the ideal novels were written—think, for instance, of Plutarch's *De gloria Athenensium*, Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaicus*, or Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* in which Athens is the setting of two visits by the protagonist. In the novels themselves, however, Athens does not come to the fore. We do not get Athens as a geographical location for the plots or as a subject of extended consideration. Only in the cases of Chariton and Heliodorus are there references from which a particular—if implied—image of Athens emerges. And only in Chariton do those references amount to a consistent motif. This motif is exploited with a stereotypical obsession.⁴⁶ Chariton has a thing about Athens, and I think there is an attractive way of relating this fact to his inventing a new literary form.

⁴⁵ Cf. Diod. Sic. 13.96.3, 112.4; 14.44.5.

⁴⁶ Cf. e.g. Reardon 1996, 324: 'the Athenian defeat in Sicily... recurs with tedious frequency in the text'. Generally on Chariton's Athens see Oudot 1992 and Smith 2007.

Leaving possible indirect allusions out of account, Chariton makes twenty references to Athens and Attica.⁴⁷ The best part of these references recall the Syracusan victory over Athens in the Peloponnesian War, a recent event in the setting of *NAC*. This victory is a key to Callirhoe's identity: she is known to the reader, as well as to powerful players in the fictional world, as the daughter of Hermocrates whose victory over Athens is something like his *epitheton ornans* and does not fail to impress (1.1.1: readers; 2.6.3: Dionysius; 5.8.8: Artaxerxes); Athenian booty decorates the funeral of the apparently dead Callirhoe (1.6.2–3); she herself understands her misfortunes as a stark contrast to the victory of her father and the Athenian defeat (1.11.2–3; 3.10.8); her abduction by the pirates is something that not even the Athenians managed to do (3.4.18); the naval search expedition for her is enlisted in recognition of Hermocrates' victory and hoists the same flag as he used against the Athenians (3.4.16; 3.5.3). From the heroine, the motif extends to Chaereas, to the protagonists as a romantic couple, and to their integration in the community of Syracuse: Chaereas, too, receives his identity from his Syracusan origin and the triumph over Athens (6.7.10; 7.2.3–4); in the role of a naval commander he becomes a second Hermocrates, and his battle against the Persians is compared with the victory over Athens (7.5.8; 8.2.12). As regards the romantic couple and Syracuse, the story is framed by scenes in which the joy of the Syracusans over the love of Chaereas and Callirhoe surpasses their past enthusiasm about the victory over Athens (1.1.13; 8.7.2). Finally, the celebrations at Syracuse are preceded by a number of comparisons between the fleet in which Chaereas and Callirhoe are entering the Syracusan port and the past attack and defeat of the Athenian fleet (8.6.2; 8.6.10; 8.6.12).

At a very general level, these references insist on the historical backdrop of the fictional story and contribute to its character as a historical novel.⁴⁸ More specifically, the Athens–Syracuse motif seems to be part of a literary competition between Chariton and Thucydides. Chariton's debt not only to historiography but precisely

⁴⁷ 1.1.1, 1.1.13, 1.6.2–3, 1.11.2–3, 1.11.4, 1.11.5–7, 2.6.3, 3.4.16, 3.4.18, 3.5.3, 3.10.8, 5.8.8, 6.7.10, 7.2.3–4, 7.5.8, 8.2.12, 8.6.2, 8.6.10, 8.6.12, 8.7.2.

⁴⁸ Cf. Hägg 1987, 195.

to Thucydides has often been noted.⁴⁹ The novelistic fiction of NAC was to some extent conceived as a response to Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War and especially his account of the Sicilian expedition, the most finished and elaborate part of the—incomplete—work. Chariton's first sentence sounds like an inversion of Thucydides' introduction, with a parallel fronting of the author's name in the nominative on the one hand and a contrasting story on the other:

Ch. 1.1.1: *Χαρίτων Ἀφροδισιεύς... πάθος ἐρωτικὸν... διηγῆσομαι*
I, Chariton, of Aphrodisias, am going to narrate to you a love story...

Thuc. 1.1.1: *Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον...*
Thucydides of Athens wrote the history of the war ...

Thucydides' account of the Sicilian expedition is clearly Chariton's major source for his historical setting. The departure of the Sicilian search expedition for Callirhoe (Ch. 3.5.3) echoes Thucydides' departure of the Athenian expedition to Sicily (Thuc. 6.30). Perhaps it is even significant that this expedition takes up books six to seven of Thucydides' history: for what it is worth, Chariton's books six to seven are dominated by Chaereas' military exploits in the course of which he turns into a second Hermocrates.⁵⁰ The analogy in the distribution of books seems all the more relevant considering that both authors tell their story in eight books overall. It does not conflict with this idea that Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*—often regarded as an ancestor of the Greek novel and no doubt used by Chariton in aspects not discussed here⁵¹—has eight books, too. The authority of both models combined might have determined Chariton's decision to divide his story into eight books.

At the end of book seven, Thucydides singles out the Sicilian victory over Athens as the 'greatest achievement in Hellenic history' (7.87.5: *ξυνέβη τε ἔργον τοῦτο... μέγιστον γενέσθαι... ὧν ἅκοῃ Ἑλληνικῶν ἴσμεν*). Chariton could have been encouraged by such a claim to create something equally big in a new form of writing.

⁴⁹ Cf. e.g. Hunter 1994; Luginbill 2000; Ramelli 2000.

⁵⁰ Cf. Luginbill 2000 for the accumulation of references and allusions to Thucydides at the outbreak of the war in Ch. 6.8.

⁵¹ Cf. e.g. Papanikolaou 1973, 19–21 with a list of textual borrowings.

He would have marked out the originality of his achievement by continuously measuring his own, new story against the backdrop of the historical, Thucydidean past: to give just a few examples, his romantic couple is *more* celebrated than the victory over the Athenians (1.1.13; 8.7.2); his pirates pulled off something that *not even* the Athenians did (1.11.2–3; 3.4.18); his flagship sails out *not* against the Athenians but for Callirhoe (3.5.3); his fleet does *not* wage war on Syracuse, but brings Chaereas and Callirhoe home (8.6.2; 8.6.10; 8.6.12). The leitmotif of the comparison between Syracuse and Athens helps form the identity of Chariton's ideal novel at the expense of Thucydides' account of the historic events. In this light, Chariton's celebration of Syracuse, which he chose as the setting for *NAC*, is also a celebration of the victory of his own story over Thucydides' model.

This reading ties in well with the hypothesis of Chariton's invention of a new literary form, inspired, among other authors, by Thucydides. However, if Chariton's Syracuse competed with Thucydides' Athens, this may have had a larger purpose beyond this particular author. I do not agree with the recent monograph on the subject by Steven Smith, who reads our motif through a consistently political lens. Smith argues that Chariton's image of Athens is despite appearances deeply ambivalent and that it somehow suggests a political discourse about tyranny and democracy, both tightly linked with the history of Athens. Such a political discourse about 'Greek freedom' would have been a burning issue for Chariton and his audience under the 'foreign tyranny' of Rome.⁵² It is hard for me to see why Athens should be so ambivalent in *NAC*, and in my view Smith's argument for a political discourse in *NAC* entirely depends on the assumption of a highly speculative 'deep structure' in which political discourses of the period freely merge with the text of *NAC*. If Chariton really had a political motive in writing *NAC*, it would have been relevant, I think, that Rome was the most important ally of Aphrodisias, while Athens, under the tyrant Aristion, sided against Rome and Aphrodisias in the First Mithradatic War, a defining moment for the further political history of Chariton's home town.⁵³

⁵² Cf. Smith 2007, 246.

⁵³ Cf. above, ch 2, 24–5.

If we wish to account for Chariton's image of Athens in a political way, this historical enmity between Athens and Aphrodisias supplies a more obvious reason for his insisting on the Syracusan victory over Athens (which would also explain in part why Chariton found Syracuse an attractive setting for his story in the first place). Such a sideswipe may constitute an additional layer in Chariton's rationale, but I do not think that this would make *NAC* an eminently political work. The larger purpose I was talking about is literary. I here pick up on Estelle Oudot's reading of the novelistic image of Athens as an affirmation of a new literary form contrasting with the classical—Athenian—genres. Oudot bases her generic conclusion as much on the avoidance of Athens in the ideal novels in general as on its predominantly critical image in Chariton and Heliodorus, with the former especially looking to historiography, the latter to drama. Still, since this leaves us with no more than two individual cases, it might be better to go about the issue in more specific terms. Heliodorus' image of Athens—simply put, a place of decadence opposed to the morally superior world of his romance⁵⁴—is irrelevant to the question of how the critical image of Athens entered the genre, unless we see in Heliodorus' use of the motif a further original adaptation of an element found in the arch-novelist, Chariton.⁵⁵ Chariton is the only early author of an ideal novel who features an image of Athens, and if indeed this image implies a rejection of Athenian literary genres, this should be attributed to Chariton rather than an abstract genre. The new literary form bound up with an emphatic rejection of Athens as a suitable place for a new literary world would come down to Chariton's invention. We might even relate this general idea to the specific case of competition with Thucydides, the *Athenian* (Thuc. 1.1.1: *Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος*...). That Chariton did have a general literary idea about Athens is not least suggested by an episode which I have left out of consideration so far. It goes beyond the usual comparison of Syracuse and Athens and should be considered in its own right.

The passage in question, 1.11.4–7, contains two equally remarkable references to Attica and Athens respectively. They come on the heels of another relevant passage which may be read as an

⁵⁴ Cf. Oudot 1992, 104–6; Morgan 1989.

⁵⁵ Cf. above, section 4, 144–5.

introduction, 1.11.2–3, where Callirhoe leaves Sicily aboard the ship of the pirates and laments her fate: not even the Athenians were able to carry her off, as Theron and his pirates are doing now; worse, she might even be sold as a slave to an Athenian master. As if Chariton takes his cue from Callirhoe's worry, or rather, as if Callirhoe hints at Chariton's plans, he subsequently has Theron drop anchor to stop off across from Attica (1.11.4). If already the repetitiousness of the Athens–Syracuse motif points to a concern beyond plot, this stop-over settles the larger metaliterary significance of Chariton's Athens. In terms of plot, there is little reason for the pirates to sail to Attica. Granted, they are looking for wealthy cities to find a rich buyer for Callirhoe. But the order of events makes it clear that they had not thought of Athens before they actually anchored not far from it. The closest thing to a motive is that they bring Callirhoe ashore so she can refresh herself, get some rest, and preserve her beauty (1.11.4–5). Only then does one of the pirates take notice of the prosperity of Athens and suggests selling Callirhoe there. Theron, however, strongly objects. He warns of a number of characteristics of the Athenians which would complicate selling Callirhoe in secret and get away with it: their meddlesomeness and gossip, their love of lawsuits, their severe magistrates and their court of justice, the Areopagus; indeed, the Athenians would be more alarming than the Syracusans (1.11.5–7)—a statement that proves fatally wrong when Theron is taken to the unsparing Syracusan court in 3.4. Finally, our passage leads smoothly on to the journey to Miletus, discussed above in section five, when Theron comes up with his alternative of sailing to Ionia (1.11.7).

In this episode, Chariton makes a point of *not* bringing his story to Athens.⁵⁶ He moves just close enough to Attica to demonstrate that he *could* do this if he wanted to. His playing with this idea seems to be emphasized by the gratuitous detail of Callirhoe's flying visit ashore, 'at a spot where there was a spring with plenty of pure water, and a lovely meadow' (1.11.4: *πηγὴ δὲ ἦν αὐτόθι πολλοῦ καὶ καθαροῦ νάματος καὶ λειμῶν εὐφύης*). Perhaps Smith is right in seeing here a playful allusion to the Athenian spring that bears the same name as

⁵⁶ Cf. esp. Oudot 1992, 101–2; Kasprzyk 2001, 153–5; Smith 2007, 67–71.

our heroine, 'Callir(r)hoe'. While this was a common name for springs, the Athenian Callirrhoe, located at the south side of the Ilissus valley, was easily the most prominent example. More than that, it is referred to by Thucydides (2.15.5) who reports its use 'in the rites preliminary to marriages and other sacred ceremonies'. With this function of the Athenian spring in mind, Callirhoe's stop in Attica might foreshadow her future marriage to Dionysius.⁵⁷ But I would like to suggest another, not exclusive, reading of this passage. If the metaliterary metaphors of poets are anything to go by—and in our distinctly metaliterary passage we may be ready to think so—the 'pure spring' and the 'lovely meadow' point to a place of fresh literary inspiration.⁵⁸ And if we follow this untrodden path of reading we might consider that Chariton, in first sending Callirhoe to this place and then whisking her away from it, is hinting at the poetics of NAC. He seems to acknowledge his inspiration by Athenian literature in general, or by Thucydides in particular, but equally makes it clear that his is a new story that sets out to new shores, precisely those of Miletus. In this particular case it seems justified to activate another prominent metaliterary metaphor, that of the sea voyage⁵⁹ which not only takes characters but also authors and their works to unexplored climes. Theron's sea voyage leads from Attica to Miletus and, at a metaliterary level, leaves classical historiography behind in favour of a new, seemingly 'Milesian' kind of fiction. Returning to the idea that the Athenian spring is alluded to in this scene, we could say that the 'Milesian' Callirhoe is played off against the Athenian Callirrhoe, or *Narratives about Callirhoe* against Thucydides and Athenian literary classicism. This also leads me to believe that Chariton in naming his leading woman 'Callirhoe' planted a somewhat provocative clue to his literary programme all along. Not only does Callirhoe later in the story give a wide berth to Callirrhoe; already her location in Syracuse rather than Athens might have reminded attentive readers of the Syracusan spring Arethusa, who was stylized as a Muse of pastoral

⁵⁷ Cf. Smith 2007, 67–9.

⁵⁸ Cf. for springs e.g. Callim. *Hymn* 2.111–12; Prop. 3.51; see also below on Arethusa; for meadows e.g. Choerilus' prologue to his *Persica* (*Suppl. Hell.* 317.2); Prop. 3.18.

⁵⁹ Cf. generally Lieberg 1969; for another example from the ideal novels cf. Calasiris' sailing past Odysseus' house, above, section 4, 144.

song by the anonymous author of the *Epitaphios Bionos* (77, about Bion's inspiration: 'he drank the water of Arethusa'; ὁ δ' ἔχεν πόμα τᾶς Ἀρεθούσας) and by Virgil (Ecl. 10.1–6: 'This last task, Arethusa, I pray you to favour me in . . .'; *Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem* . . .). Chariton did not write a pastoral novel, but perhaps he played with the notion that Callirhoe was his novel Muse, distinctly un-Athenian, not too far from the name and the epic voice of 'Calliope', and in any case vouching for a 'fair-flowing' narrative.⁶⁰

Now, if it had been Callirhoe's choice, she would have stayed in Syracuse and sailed neither to Athens nor to Miletus. It is Theron and his gang of pirates who carry her off to those places. If the latter, however, imply a metaliterary dimension, as I have suggested, it seems as if Theron is to some extent an authorial figure who directs the story on behalf of Chariton. This is exactly what Dimitri Kasprzyk has proposed in his reading of the character Theron as a creator and a mirror of Chariton's narrative.⁶¹ As far as our passage is concerned, Theron's decision to sail past Athens and towards Asia Minor establishes the unclassical geography of the story. Kasprzyk underlines the fact that this geography is a characteristic element which distinguishes the genre of the ideal novel from the city-state world of New Comedy. This is particularly relevant considering that Chariton started his story by creating a New Comedy horizon with the theatrical frame-up by the suitors in 1.4.⁶² The sea voyage to Miletus not only leaves historiography, but also New Comedy behind. The ideal novel comes into its own. 'Chariton, par la bouche du pirate, suit une tradition—crée une tradition?', asks Kasprzyk.⁶³ The lengths to which Chariton goes in Attica point to the latter.

It may be asked why Chariton chose a pirate, of all people, as his temporary mouthpiece. This question is somewhat skewed since it confuses the villain that Theron is at the level of plot with the metaliterary function that he performs at the level of poetics. Just because Theron is in some respect an authorial figure does not mean

⁶⁰ Cf. esp. Pindars's 'fair-flowing breath' (*Ol.* 6.83: καλλιρόοισι πνοαῖς), referring to his inspired poetic voice. In general metaphors comparing flowing water and speech are legion, cf. e.g. Quint. 10.1.46; 12.10.59; [Longinus] 13.1; Philostr. *VS* 1.22.525; LSJ s.v. εὖροος.

⁶¹ Cf. Kasprzyk 2001, esp. 153–4.

⁶² Cf. Mason 2002; above, section 3, 138.

⁶³ Kasprzyk 2001, 154.

that Chariton identifies with him as a villain (although identifying with the villains is surely part of the fun of fiction). What Theron does may not always be good for Callirhoe—though it should be noted that he in fact rescues her from being buried alive—but it is necessary for *Narratives about Callirhoe* and its final happy ending.⁶⁴ If further explanations of Chariton's choice are needed, we might consider Kasprzyk's account:⁶⁵ the rogue, Theron, is a fitting mouthpiece of the novelist because the latter does something roguish himself, that is writing in a new literary form outside the traditional canon.⁶⁶ This is not to say that all pirates in all novelists should be regarded as literary pioneers. Not least because of the particular context of the motif of Athens in *NAC*, Theron is a special case. Last but not least, it may also be noted that of all the major pirates who occur in the ideal novels, Theron is the only one who does not fall in love with the heroine. Jean-Philippe Guez has asked why this is so and comes to the conclusion that contrary to the other novels, the erotic rivals of *NAC* are always of high social status.⁶⁷ Another answer, however, would be that Theron is simply too busy inventing *Narratives about Callirhoe*.

⁶⁴ Cf. the similar issue with Rumour, below, ch. 7, 242.

⁶⁵ Cf. Kasprzyk 2001, 155 n. 48 and 162.

⁶⁶ Arguably there is similar case, at a different level of sophistication and in a different kind of novel, in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: the drunken old wife in the robber's cave, who narrates the *mise en abyme* of Cupid and Psyche, clearly echoes the primary narrator of the work (cf. 1.1.1 with 4.27.8).

⁶⁷ Cf. Guez 2001.

Novelty

NAC betrays a strong and consistent concern with literary novelty. There is no single ‘programme’ of novelty in the work, but Chariton’s comments and allusions relevant to this issue, scattered all over the text, do not occur at random. They draw attention to new episodes, new twists in the plot, and new scenic inventions. It seems that to Chariton novelty was an important category for thinking about and coming to terms with his narrative(s).¹ This would not be so remarkable if the other novelists were similarly—or perhaps, rather, in the same structural and qualitative way—anxious about novelty. But I hope to show at the end of this chapter that there are significant differences between Chariton’s take on novelty and that of his followers. These differences encourage me to read Chariton’s novelty as a sign of his inventing a new form of literature.

1. CLAIMS OF ORIGINALITY

Some of the passages presented here recur in my later discussion of specific aspects of Chariton’s novelty. Their line-up at the start of my account gives due prominence to Chariton’s most explicit and most distinctive way of dealing with literary novelty: his repeated claims of originality which are unparalleled in the ancient novel. Mostly these claims take the form of an *Unsagbarkeitstopos* (i).² Some focus on

¹ For Chariton’s idea of *NAC* as a plurality of narratives cf. below, ch. 6, 215–6.

² Cf. for the term Curtius 1948, 166–9.

issues of representation or add this aspect to the pose of inexpressibility. I discuss these particularly interesting claims in a separate group (ii).

(i) *Unsagbarkeitstopoi*

When the Syracusans find out about Chaereas' lovesickness they call an assembly in the theatre and plead for his immediate marriage with Callirhoe. I have talked about the novelty of this assembly in chapter four.³ Chariton knows very well that there is a wide gulf between his erotic assembly and anything an assembly used to be in history or historiography. In 1.1.12, he proudly refers to his invention in the form of a rhetorical question:

τίς ἄν ἐρμηνεύσειε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνην, ἣς ὁ Ἔρως ἦν δημαγωγός;

Who could put into words that assembly that was dominated by Eros?

This structure is Chariton's favourite way of putting his claims of originality, which amount to a veiled form of self-praise. Who indeed could express such a scene? Of course Chariton himself is this extraordinary author. Verbal expression, however, is here—as in similar cases—not precisely what Chariton takes pride in. The passages referred to by such claims are not usually linguistic or rhetorical set pieces. Rather, they seem to constitute highly original building blocks in Chariton's narrative rationale, and their marking out by way of *Unsagbarkeitstopoi* reflects this emphasis in poetics. It could be objected that the iteration of τίς ἄν and similar structures in Chariton points to formulaic language rather than a metaliterary concern with novelty (and the same could generally be said about the terms of novelty and narrative, discussed in this and the next chapter). But formulaic language and literary self-reference are not mutually exclusive terms. On the contrary, the fact that Chariton places certain fixed phrases and words in a metaliterary significant and distinctive way suggests that they are indeed something like categories of his literary thinking and writing.

³ Cf. above, 139–40.

As we will have occasion to observe more often, Chariton regards his adaptation of the motif of *Scheintod* as a particular accomplishment. Both protagonists think the other one dead, and both receive a burial—though in the case of Chaereas without a corpse. To highlight these scenes, Chariton pauses his narrative and slips in further questions of expressibility (1.6.2 and 4.1.11):

τίς ἂν οὖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι δύναιτο κατ' ἀξίαν τὴν ἐκκομιδὴν ἐκείνην;

Who could give a fitting report of that funeral?

πῶς ἂν τις διηγῆσθαι κατ' ἀξίαν τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς πομπῆς;

How could one fitly narrate the end of the procession?

Soon after the announcement of his poetics of tragicomedy at 8.1.4, Chariton underlines the novelty of the happy ending with a claim of originality about the reunion of the lovers. Their first night together realizes the poetics of tragicomedy as outlined in the plan and Chariton duly lays stress on it (8.1.14):

τίς ἂν φράσῃ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην πόσων διηγημάτων μεστή, πόσων δὲ δακρύων ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλημάτων;

Who could express that night? They told each other their countless adventures; they wept endlessly; they embraced endlessly.

But the significance of the happy ending is marked out by yet another phrase of inexpressibility. It comes when Chaereas and Callirhoe settle their affairs in Cyprus and are about to sail home to Syracuse. At the day of the journey, everyone is excited and full of purpose (8.4.1):

Τίς ἂν φράσῃ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην πόσας ἔσχε πράξεις, πῶς ἀλλήλαις διαφόρους, —εὐχόμενων, συντασσομένων, χαιρόντων, λυπουμένων, ἀλλήλοις ἐντολὰς διδόντων, τοῖς οἴκοι γραφόντων;

Who could express all the different activities of that day? There were people praying, saying good-bye, rejoicing, sorrowing, giving each other instructions, writing home . . .

This passage introduces Chaereas' and Callirhoe's farewell letters to the Great King and Dionysius respectively. Both letters are a document to their humanity and have a tremendous effect on their readers. They dispense poetic justice to the most important support-

ing roles and pave the way for an all-round happy ending. The *Unsagbarkeitstopos* draws attention to the emotional satisfaction of this grand finale and to the particular balance that Chariton creates in meting out consolation prizes to his minor characters.

(ii) Issues of representation (including further *Unsagbarkeitstopoi*)

At 3.8.6, Callirhoe takes her newly born son in her arms and steps before Aphrodite to pray to her. Chariton zeroes in on this picture and adds his caption to it:

πρώτον μὲν οὖν τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὰς αὐτῆς ἀγκάλας ἐνέθηκε, καὶ ὥφθη θέαμα κάλλιστον, οἶον οὔτε ζωγράφος ἔγραψεν οὔτε πλάστης ἔπλασεν οὔτε ποιητὴς ἰστόρησε μέκρι νῦν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν Ἄρτεμιν ἢ Ἀθηνᾶν βρέφος ἐν ἀγκάλαις κομίζουσιν.

First she took her son in her own arms; that formed a beautiful sight, such as no painter has ever yet painted nor sculptor sculpted nor poet recounted, since none of them has represented Artemis or Athena holding a baby in her arms.

There are a number of claims rolled into one in this passage. All of them are set against the backdrop of the fellow artists Chariton is taking on. His remark that these artists have *not* shown Artemis or Athena with a baby sounds a little odd.⁴ Why should they? Artemis and Athena are virgins and not usually associated with babies. But this is the point. Again Chariton accentuates his inventiveness: his claim is that only he has risen to the paradoxical blend of chastity and motherhood embodied in Callirhoe. Further below I discuss Chariton's idea of 'myth' (*μῦθος*), which seems to be inferior to his idea of 'narratives' (*διηγήματα*).⁵ In view of this discussion we may add the

⁴ For the motif of the baby cf. below, ch. 8, 275–7.

⁵ Cf. below, 170–2. The translation of *μῦθος* as 'myth' does not reflect the range of meanings of the Greek word, where 'myth' in our restricted sense is the exception rather than the rule (other possible translations are e.g. 'tale', 'story', or 'fiction'). Nonetheless, here and in the following I choose 'myth' to emphasize the difference that Chariton apparently makes between a traditional but unbelievable kind of fiction (which prominently includes mythical stories), and his own 'historical' narratives which invent more freely and still have more verisimilitude.

nuance that the other artists were not creative enough to break away from the usual patterns of myth and mythical figures. It is only Chariton's concept of invented history that makes scenes like this possible.

Chariton's comparison with other artists is particularly intriguing in the case of the poet, a writer of verse. It seems as if Chariton, the prose writer, here sets himself apart from poetry. This should not be regarded as a rejection of poetry, but as competition with it that helps define Chariton's own writing. The significance of this question of literary form is corroborated by the fact that Chariton refers far more often to the very idea of poets (*ποιηταί*) or poems (*ποιήματα*) than any other Greek novelist does: in 1.1.16, the wedding of Chaereas and Callirhoe is compared to that of Thetis and Peleus, of which the poets sing (*ὑμνοῦσι ποιηταί*); in 2.1.5, Dionysius dismisses the suggestion that Callirhoe is a slave with a reference to the saying of the poets that the beautiful are children of gods (*οὐκ ἀκούεις τῶν ποιητῶν ὅτι θεῶν παῖδές εἰσιν οἱ καλοί*); in 2.4.8, Dionysius considers a divine origin of Callirhoe, for stories similar to hers are told by poets and (prose) writers (*ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἱστοροῦσι ποιηταί τε καὶ συγγραφεῖς*); in 4.7.6, Dionysius muses on the changeable nature of Eros: because of this characteristic poets and sculptors have given him a bow and a torch (*διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τόξα καὶ πῦρ ποιηταί τε καὶ πλάσται περιτεθείκασιν αὐτῷ*); in 5.5.9, Callirhoe enters the courtroom just as the godlike poet (Homer) has Helen appear (*οἷαν ὁ θεῖος ποιητῆς τὴν Ἑλένην ἐπιστῆναί φησι*); further below, I say more about the apparently inadequate dramatic poets in 5.8.2; and finally, in 6.3.2, we are told that Artaxerxes has so far known Eros only from myths and poems (*τίς γάρ ἐστιν Ἔρως πρότερον ἤκουον ἐν μύθοις τε καὶ ποιήμασιν*). There is no reference to either *ποιητῆς* or *ποίημα* in Xenophon of Ephesus, while the other fully extant novelists have just one occurrence each.⁶ This is not to say that poetry is more important to the texture and spirit of *NAC* than, for instance, to Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*—which would be an absurd statement. Rather, the comparatively frequent references to poets and poetry as appellatives point to a fundamental issue of form in Chariton's poetics, in which prose fiction is to some extent defined by

⁶ Cf. AT 2.36.3; Longus 2.31.2; Heliod. 8.11.3; on poets in *M&P* see above, ch. 3, 102–4.

its relation to poetry. On a much more intensive and sophisticated level we can observe a similar phenomenon in Petronius and his outright obsession with poetry. Catherine Connors has read this obsession as a persistent rejection of poetical forms in order for Petronius to define his novel kind of work.⁷ Petronius' case is certainly different in many ways: he makes literature a subject in itself, creates a satirical universe, and puts his own, sometimes extended, poetry on display. There is an interesting parallel, however, in Petronius' frequent references to *poeta*, *poema*, and *carmen* (in the sense of 'poem').⁸ Apparently it is precisely the earliest novelists who are most concerned with the very idea of poetry. An explanation for this could be that both Chariton and Petronius were writing new forms of prose fiction which owed a great deal to verse and still had to establish their own identity.

I return to Chariton's explicit claims of originality with the example of his courtroom scenes. There are three trials in *NAC*, all of them carefully staged. The most splendid and extended one is the trial at Babylon which, including all its adjournments, straddles books five and six. The singularity and magnitude of the event is such that 'the whole of Babylon was nothing but a law court' (5.4.4: ὅλη [ῆ] Βαβυλῶν δικαστήριον ἦν). But this superlative is not enough for Chariton. He goes on to ask (5.4.4):

ποιῶς ἀγῶν Ὀλυμπικὸς ἢ νύκτες Ἐλευσίνιαι προσδοκίαν τοσαύτης ἔσχον σπουδῆς;

What Olympic Games, what Eleusinian nights ever promised such passionate interest?

Every educated Greek and Roman would have known about the athletic games in Olympia and the annual celebration of the mysteries of Demeter in Eleusis. The prestige of these festivals was immense and they epitomized spectacular excitement. If we are to believe Chariton, however, they do not compare to the thrills of the upcoming trial at Babylon and, on a larger scale, to the delights *NAC* has in store for readers. This claim is substantiated by Chariton's comment

⁷ Cf. Connors 1998.

⁸ Cf. Petron. 2.5; 2.8; 4.5; 10.2; 23.2; 41.6; 55.4; 83.8; 90.2; 91.3; 92.6; 93.3; 94.2; 94.5; 96.6; 109.8; 113.12; 115.3; 115.5; 118.1; 118.2 (twice); 131.5; 134.12; 137.9.

when his narrative of the Babylonian trial reaches its climax, the appearance of the apparently dead Chaereas in court (5.8.2):

τίς ἂν φράσῃ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκεῖνο τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ δικαστηρίου; ποῖος ποιητὴς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς παράδοξον μῦθον οὕτως εἰσήγαγεν; ἔδοξας ἂν ἐν θεάτρῳ παρεῖναι μυρίων παθῶν πλήρει· πάντα ἦν ὁμοῦ, δάκρυα, χαρά, θάμβος, ἔλεος, ἀπιστία, εὐχαί.

Who could fitly express that scene in court? What dramatist ever staged such an astonishing story (μῦθος)? It was like being at a play packed with passionate scenes, with emotions tumbling over each other—weeping and rejoicing, astonishment and pity, disbelief and prayers.

This is a particularly interesting example of Chariton's competition with poets, summarily discussed above. Here he is talking about playwrights. He compares the effects of his narrative with the effects of the theatrical stage, but is obviously aware of creating these effects by other literary means. The word μῦθος in this context may just mean 'story' as translated by Reardon. In this case, Chariton would distinguish himself in a somewhat imprecise manner from playwrights because they have not invented a paradoxical twist which could measure up to his own. However, μῦθος can specifically designate a 'dramatic plot',⁹ a meaning strongly suggested by the context of our passage. If Chariton has this in mind, he would be competing with the general futility of 'unhistorical' dramatic plots or, even more specifically, the mythical subjects of tragic playwrights (the writers of New Comedy, the most likely candidates for comic playwrights, do not rely on myth in a narrow sense). A reference to tragic poets would also fit in with Chariton's larger Aristotelian model laid out in 8.1.4.¹⁰ Either way, the meaning of μῦθος here is consistent with Chariton's general use of the word for an untrue, potentially deceptive, or vain story: in 2.4.7, Dionysius inquires about Callirhoe's origins and rebukes his steward Leonas for having made up a μῦθος (μῦθόν μοι διηγῆ) about an unknown merchant who sold her; in 2.5.7, Callirhoe is supposed to introduce herself to Dionysius, but she refuses to tell her story because her former fortune now appears to her like a dream and a μῦθος (ὄνειρος ἦν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ μῦθος); when Polycharmus is questioned about Callirhoe at 4.2.13, he thinks everything is lost and

⁹ Cf. e.g. Arist. *Poet.* 1449b5; 1450a4; 1451a16.

¹⁰ Cf. above, ch. 4, 130–7.

sees no use in telling a long and pointless *μῦθος* (*μακρὸς ὁ μῦθος... καὶ πρὸς οὐδέν ἐστι χρήσιμός μοι*); until his meeting with Callirhoe, Artaxerxes has heard of Eros only in *μῦθοι* and poems (6.3.2: *τίς γάρ ἐστιν Ἔρως πρότερον ἤκουον ἐν μύθοις τε καὶ ποιήμασιν*); and in 6.3.6, Artaxerxes insinuates that Callirhoe has fooled him about her origins by 'exporting' a *μῦθος* about herself beyond the Ionian sea (*ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τὴν πολλὴν θάλασσαν τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς μῦθον ἐκπέμπει*). Chariton's *μῦθοι*, then, are something less credible than the *διηγήματα* his own story consists of.¹¹ His references to *μῦθος* imply a contrast between *a priori* unbelievable forms of fiction, and his new, seemingly true novelistic fiction which comes as a historical report. Thus, the passages referring to *μῦθος* help shape and define the narrative discourse of *διηγήματα*, comparable to the references to poets and poetry. In 5.8.2, both types are combined to form a soundboard for Chariton's claim of originality: no poet has ever invented a *μῦθος* which compares to Chariton's *διήγημα* about the Babylonian trial. Chariton's idea of *μῦθος* as a futile narrative is unique among the Greek novelists. A different approach to *μῦθος* can be observed in Achilles Tatius and Longus, who sometimes play with the notion that their own discourse is a sort of myth (if not necessarily identical to the traditional kind of myths set as *mises en abyme* in their narratives). Compare, for instance, the initial dialogue of narrator and listener in Achilles' *Leucippe and Clitophon*: 'My stories appear like myths'. 'Well sir, by Zeus and by Eros himself, please don't hesitate. The more they appear like myths the more pleasant they will be.' (AT 1.2.2: *ῥα γὰρ ἐμὰ μύθοις ἔοικε*. *Μὴ κατοκνήσης, ὦ βέλτιστε,* ἔφην, *πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἑρωτος αὐτοῦ, ταύτη μᾶλλον ἥσειν, εἰ καὶ μύθοις ἔοικε*). Similarly, in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* we read the self-referential remark that Eros, the demiurge of this novel, wants to make a myth of Chloe (2.27.2: *... παρθένον, ἐξ ἧς Ἑρως μῦθον ποιῆσαι θέλει*). References to *μῦθος* are rare (three times) and insignificant in Heliodorus and do not occur at all in Xenophon of Ephesus. Again, however, Petronius

¹¹ Pace Ruiz Montero (1994a, 1022; 1996a, 64 n. 156; 2003b, 354–6), *μῦθος* and *διήγημα* are *not* synonyms in Chariton. On the essentially true character of Chariton's *διηγήματα* cf. below, ch. 6.

provides a distant but maybe significant parallel. It comes when Eumolpus announces his story of the widow of Ephesus (110.8):

nec se tragoedias veteres curare aut nomina saeculis nota, sed rem sua memoria factam, quam expositurum se esse, si vellemus audire.

He was not thinking of old tragedies or names notorious in history, but of an affair which happened in his lifetime. He would tell it us if we liked to listen.

It is true that Chariton's story did not happen in his lifetime. He also introduces names known from history. But Callirhoe and Chaereas as well as many other characters and events of *NAC* are unknown to history, and Chariton equally does not resort to old tragedies with their mythical subjects. Petronius' take on literary history is more aggressive and pointed, but both authors may reflect on their own status as writers of novel works of prose fiction. Petronius seems to ask a similarly fundamental question about fictional discourse, which is confirmed not least by Roger Beck's observation that Eumolpus, the speaker of our passage, proves to be a bad poet but a good narrator.¹²

Taking *Unsagbarkeitstopoi* and issues of representation together, it is worth noting that Chariton's claims of originality refer to key moments of *NAC*: the start of the story in the theatre of Syracuse, the apparent deaths of Callirhoe and Chaereas, Callirhoe's child, the trial at Babylon, the happy ending. This is a fair (if not complete) review of pivotal scenes and consequent stories which make up *Narratives about Callirhoe*. The claims are carefully placed and in their totality insist on the original character of the whole work. This may in itself be taken as a slight indication of Chariton's awareness of his pioneering a new form of writing. In any case it should heighten our sensitivity to the terms of novelty discussed in the next section.

2. TERMS OF NOVELTY

In this section I analyse Chariton's use of the adjective *καινός* ('novel') and words derived from it. *καινός* does not occur in Homer and Hesiod and is generally rare until the fifth century BC. From then on

¹² Cf. Beck 1979.

the word becomes more frequent and, what matters here, is used in metaliterary contexts to make a point of novelty. The meaning of *καινός* lends itself well for this since it includes the nuances of 'unusual' and 'original'.¹³ *καινός* is preferred in such contexts to *νέος*, which also signifies 'new', but with the nuances of 'young' and 'recent'. The lyre player Timotheus (c.450–360 BC) of Miletus, for instance, refers *καινός* to his new poetry which he sharply opposes to the tradition: 'I do not sing the old songs, for my novel ones are better' (PMG 796: οὐκ αἰδῶ τὰ παλαιά, | καινὰ γὰρ ἀμὰ κρείσσω). Aristophanes boasts in his *Clouds* about his cleverness at introducing novel ideas (547: αἰεὶ καινὰς ἰδέας εἰσφέρων σοφίζομαι). The comic poet Anaxilas, in the fourth century BC, uses the same word in his criticism of artistic over-inventiveness: 'Music, like Africa, keeps producing some novel kind of animal every year' (fr. 27 K–A: ἡ μουσικὴ δ' ὥσπερ Λιβύη... | αἶ τι καινὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν θηρίον | τίκτει).

Now, Chariton is hardly the first prose author who employed terms of novelty to convey surprise effects and paradoxes of all kinds. The transmission of relevant texts before Chariton is scarce, but surely he is indebted to oratory, especially declamation, paradoxography, and other strains of writing aiming at shock, awe, and amazement. Still, chances are that Chariton is the first (extant) prose author whose work is consistently and self-referentially informed by the category of 'novelty' (*καινότης*). Until his time, there is not much to say about a poetics of novelty in prose. The only relevant example may be a fragment from Hippias, in the fifth century BC. Hippias calls one of his works, which draws on a variety of sources from poets as well as prose writers, Greeks as well as barbarians, a 'novel and many-faced account' (DK 86 B 6: καινὸν καὶ πολυειδῆ τὸν λόγον). But this passage, apart from being difficult to assess in its fragmentary state, does not imply that the category of novelty as such came to the fore in the actual work. There was certainly a general awareness of novelty as a literary quality of prose works in Chariton's time. For instance, the anonymous author of the stylistic treatise *On the Sublime*, perhaps dating to the first century AD,¹⁴ warns of the affected search for

¹³ Cf. Hose 2000, 8 and 23 for *καινός* as 'original' in an emphatic sense.

¹⁴ Cf., however, M. Heath's (1999) revival of the attribution of the treatise to the third century rhetorician Cassius Longinus.

novelty (5.1: *καινός* πονδον) in literature and takes his examples mostly from classical prose authors. But this is a critical perspective from outside, not an adoption of ‘novelty’ in one’s own poetics. There is only one passage in Petronius where an expression of novelty can easily be referred to the poetics of the *Satyrica*: ‘Why do you, Cato’s disciples, look at me with wrinkled foreheads, and condemn a work of new simplicity?’ (Petron. 132.15 *quid me constricta spectatis fronte Catones | damnatisque novae simplicitatis opus?*). However, the extent to which the author lurks behind this passage, spoken by the character Encolpius, is a matter of dispute.¹⁵ More importantly, although it seems to refer to Petronius’ prose, it is itself in verse and may therefore be judged differently, in a context of *prosimetrum* rather than prose.

Chariton’s concern with literary novelty manifests itself in the frequency and the particular employment of the adjective *καινός* in *NAC*. All in all, the word occurs twelve times.¹⁶ Among the Greek novelists, only Achilles Tatius has a higher figure with twenty-one instances. Heliodorus comes out at eleven, Longus at eight, Xenophon of Ephesus at one. However, usage and context tell a more interesting story than the bare figures. Chariton uses *καινός* in a number of metaliterary ways largely absent from the other novelists. He refers the term, for example, to inventive scenes, narratives, and personifications of himself *qua* author. Not each occurrence is equally significant, but with one or two exceptions each can be productively read in metaliterary terms. The resulting relevant occurrences clearly outnumber comparable passages in the other ancient novels, which I discuss below after my consideration of the evidence in Chariton. The following survey of passages in *NAC* is grouped according to the novel motifs, scenes, or narratives to which they relate. I always translate *καινός* as ‘novel’ to bring out the nuance of ‘unusual’ proper to *καινός* and to reflect the consistent use of one and the same word in the Greek text.

¹⁵ Cf. for recent discussions Conte 1996, 187–90; Setaioli 1997; Courtney 2001, 199–201.

¹⁶ Ch. 1.5.4; 3.2.7; 3.3.15; 3.4.1 (twice); 3.4.2; 6.2.11; 6.8.1; 8.1.6; 8.5.6; 8.5.15; 8.6.12.

(i) Trials

The first occurrence of *καινός*, in Ch. 1.5, is put in a highly metalinguistic context. This chapter of NAC not only contains a passage crucial to the discussion of novelty, but also an appearance of Rumour and a remarkable textual parallel to Virgil's *Aeneid*, both discussed in chapter seven. The sequence of events starts with the apparent death of Callirhoe, which is soon followed by the trial of her husband and 'murderer' Chaereas. The latter is distraught at his mistake, to the point that he—and with him the author—resorts to something exceptional: he turns into his own prosecutor and pleads vehemently for the death penalty. Introducing this event, Chariton comments on its novelty (1.5.4):

συνέβη δὲ πρᾶγμα καινὸν καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μηδεπώποτε πραχθέν· ῥηθείσης γὰρ τῆς κατηγορίας ὁ φονεὺς μετρηθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας αὐτοῦ κατηγορήσῃ πικρότερον καὶ πρῶτος τὴν καταδικάζουσιν ψήφον ἤνεγκεν...

And something novel happened, that had never happened before in a trial: after the speech for the prosecution, the murderer, when his time was allotted him, instead of defending himself, launched into an even more bitter self-condemnation and took the lead in finding himself guilty.

As far as I see, the motif of the self-denouncing murderer in court is in actual fact unattested before Chariton. We know of some cases where people applied to authorities for the right to die:¹⁷ an early example is Ctesias' report of how Astyages denounced himself to Cyrus so that his children might be spared (*FGrH* 688 F 9, p. 455: τὸν δὲ ἑαυτὸν προσαγγεῖλαι, ἵνα μὴ δι' αὐτὸν στρεβλωθείησαν οἱ παῖδες); in Chariton's time or a little earlier, Valerius Maximus describes how the citizens of Massilia could legally be granted the hemlock (2.6.8). But these cases are a far cry from Chariton's dramatized and elaborate setting which includes a couple in love, an (apparent) corpse, and a formal trial for murder. To all appearances Chariton invented this motif. It is not just a turn of phrase when he refers to it as a 'novel thing' (*πρᾶγμα καινόν*) and adds that nothing like it has ever happened before. At least in literary history, this is nothing but the truth. Sandra

¹⁷ Cf. Russell 1983, 35–7 on *προσαγγελία* ('self-denunciation').

Schwartz, in her study of courtroom scenes in the Greek novels, notes that '[t]he paradoxical situation of an innocent person who wilfully confesses to a false accusation is so commonplace in the novels as to be a cliché'.¹⁸ But this is an ahistorical assessment which takes an abstract generic matrix for granted. In fact, we have only three examples of our motif, one in Chariton, another in Achilles Tatius, and a last in Heliodorus. My view is that we are here presented with one inventor and two successive emulators. A closer look at the later adaptations of the motif by Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus helps us better to understand Chariton's claim of novelty.

In AT 7.7.2–6, Clitophon accuses himself of having murdered Leucippe. The reaction to this is briefly reported in 7.8.1:

Ταῦτα εἰπόντος ἐμοῦ πάντας ἔκπληξις κατέσχευεν ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ πράγματος...

After my speech everyone was in shock at the astounding twist in the case...

In *Leucippe and Clitophon* the motif of the self-denouncing defendant is still good for a dramatic effect, but it is not new and certainly nothing that has never occurred before. Chariton programmatically explains it in general terms before the event. Achilles, arguably aware that this is not his motif, contents himself with a short statement of reactions which keeps the narrative going. There is a further, fleeting use of the motif in AT 2.34.6, where Menelaus tells Clitophon of his accidental killing of his lover Charicles; the latter's parents brought him to court, where he demanded the death penalty instead of defending himself. In this inset narrative, however, no comment at all is given.

In Heliodorus 8.8–9, Charicleia falsely professes to have poisoned the maid Cybele—who in actual fact tried to poison Charicleia. When she is supposed to account for her action before queen Arsace, her contempt for her life is referred to as a novelty: 'Charicleia presented a novel sight to those who were there to see her...' (8.8.3: ... καὶνὸν ἦν ἡ Χαρίκλεια τοῖς ὁρώσι θέαμα). Heliodorus has reason to claim some novelty for this scene, which is in many ways

¹⁸ Schwartz 1998, 27.

different from Chariton's: we have a real, not an apparent corpse; it is not the male lover who 'murders' his beloved, but the heroine who seems to poison a scheming servant; the defendant is not in utter despair, but in a calm mood which lets her disparage the accusations made against her: 'she clearly viewed her predicament as a matter for derision' (8.8.4: γέλωτα ἐφαίνετο καὶ χλεύην τὰ παρόντα ποιουμένη). At this point Charicleia is not even in court, but answers privately to Arsace. When she repeats her false confession before the judges in 8.9.7, we find neither a comment on novelty nor on reactions of the audience. Heliodorus' variation of Chariton's motif is new to some extent, but not new enough to give it particular metaliterary prominence. The 'novel sight' that Charicleia presents is primarily meant for 'those who were there to see her' in the narrated world, not for the readers of the *Aethiopica* whose attention should be drawn to literary innovation.

The trial of the self-denouncing Chaereas is not the only courtroom scene related by Chariton. It is likely to be a consequence of his profession as a secretary to the rhetor Athenagoras that he had a lively interest in legal matters and was particularly ambitious when things came to court.¹⁹ In book five, Chariton takes us to Babylon and realizes his most spectacular trial including a veritable *coup de théâtre*. Mithridates faces the charge of having forged a letter to Callirhoe in the name of the apparently dead Chaereas. The defendant, however, can produce convincing evidence to the contrary, Chaereas himself. The audience is perplexed, but the stunt does not lead to a reunion of the lovers: Chaereas cannot embrace Callirhoe who is held back by Dionysius. I have discussed this scene above in the context of the explicit claim of originality attached to it: 'Who could fitly express that scene in court? What dramatist ever staged such an astonishing story?' (5.8.2). Later in NAC, the same scene is recalled and commented on in terms of novelty. Artaxerxes has interrupted and deliberately prolonged the trial to keep Callirhoe near him. In the meantime, Chaereas is overcome with despair and he laments to his friend Polycharmus (6.2.11):

¹⁹ The significance of Chariton's legal background to NAC is discussed e.g. by Karabélias 1990; Álvarez 1998; Schwartz 1998, 16–19 and 30.

ιδὼν Καλλιρόην οὐ προσήλθον, οὐ κατεφίλησα. ὦ καινοῦ καὶ ἀπίστου πράγματος· κρίνεται Χαιρέας εἰ Καλλιρόης ἀνὴρ ἔστιν.

I saw Callirhoe and did not go to her, did not embrace her! Oh what novel and unbelievable thing—Chaereas on trial to determine whether he is Callirhoe's husband!

The earlier claim of originality on the part of the author suggests that the novelty of this event, expressed by *καινός*, not only relates to Chaereas' point of view but also to Chariton's. The courtroom scene at Babylon is one of the highpoints of *NAC*. The attribution of both an explicit claim of originality and an implied assertion of novelty, places due metaliterary emphasis on this fact.

(ii) Tomb robbery

Chariton stages another courtroom scene in 3.4, where the pirate Theron stands trial in Syracuse. In this case, however, novelty is not claimed for the trial itself, but for the story leading up to it. After Callirhoe's tomb in Syracuse has been found empty, Chaereas organizes a search expedition for her. He sails out with a number of ships and chances on the pirate Theron, whose vessel has been locked in a dead calm and is drifting on the sea. Theron dissimulates his identity, but suspiciously enough his ship is packed with the offerings from Callirhoe's tomb. Chaereas takes him in tow and sails back to Syracuse. Upon his arrival we read the following passage (3.4.1):

Προεπεδήμησε δὲ ἡ Φήμη φύσει μὲν οὔσα ταχεῖα, τότε δὲ μᾶλλον σπεύσασα μὴνῦσαι πολλὰ παράδοξα καὶ καινά. πάντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν συνέτρεχον, καὶ ἦν ὁμοῦ πάθη ποικίλα κλαόντων, θαυμαζόντων, πυνθανομένων, ἀπιστούντων· ἐξέπληττε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸ καινὸν διήγημα.

Rumour reached home before them; she is naturally swift, and on that occasion she was all the more eager to report these many novel marvels. So everyone hurried to collect by the shore, and the crowd, thunderstruck by the novel narrative, displayed various emotions all at once—tears, astonishment, inquiring interest, disbelief.

This passage is relevant in more than one way to Chariton's metaliterary awareness, and I discuss other facets of it in chapter six on narrative and chapter seven on Rumour. As regards the aspect of

novelty, *καινός* here occurs twice. First, Rumour flies ahead of Chaereas' ship and reports many baffling and novel things (*πολλὰ παράδοξα καὶ καινά*). Then, these 'things' are referred to as a 'novel narrative' (*καινὸν διήγημα*). The first phrase would in itself not be very remarkable: *παράδοξα καὶ καινά* could be read as a hendiadys in which the latter element only reaffirms the first. The phrase would just express the emotional impact of the events on the internal audience. The second phrase, 'novel narrative', however, is pregnant with metaliterary implications. First of all, we should note that the qualification of a *διήγημα* as *καινόν* is unparalleled not only in the Greek novel, but—with one minor exception—in the whole of Greek literature until late antiquity. The exception is a passage from the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla (second century AD), but this passage has no metaliterary dimension to it. Thecla's mother is simply telling Thecla's fiancé about the novelty that her daughter has been captivated by Paul's sermons: 'I have a novel narrative to tell you' (8: *Καινόν σοι ἔχω εἰπεῖν διήγημα*). Chariton's 'novel narrative', by contrast, takes its place in a consistent metaliterary use of both elements of the phrase, the adjective *καινός* and the noun *διήγημα* (which I analyse in the next chapter). Add to this that the origin of this 'novel narrative', as of the preceding 'baffling and novel things', is Rumour, herself an eminently metaliterary figure as I argue in chapter seven. This leaves little doubt that both references to novelty in our passage imply a self-reference to Chariton's narratives, *Narratives about Callirhoe*. Still, at this point it remains somewhat obscure to which part of these narratives Rumour's 'novel narrative' refers. Is it just the capture of Theron? At least not only, as the subsequent passage suggests (3.4.2):

ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ μήτηρ τὰ ἐντάφια τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀνεκώκυσεν ἔπιγινώσκω πάντα· σὺ, τέκνον, μόνη λείπεις. ὦ καινῶν τυμβωρύχων· τὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν φυλάξαντες μόνην ἔκλεψάν μου τὴν θυγατέρα.'

When Callirhoe's mother saw her daughter's funeral offerings, she cried out in distress: 'I recognize everything—only you are missing, my child! Novel tomb robbers—they have preserved the clothing and gold, and stolen only my daughter!'

Novelty is here an attribute of the tomb robbers. It seems, therefore, that the 'novel narrative' also refers to the story of the tomb robbery

with its paradoxical twist of stealing a living corpse. This reading is borne out by the close parallel provided by Chaereas' previous experience of the same paradox. When his crew boards Theron's ship, they first find nothing but corpses and treasures. Chaereas enquires as to their astonishment and finds himself referred to a novelty (3.3.15–16):

μαθὼν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἡβουλήθη τὸ καινὸν θεάσασθαι. γνωρίσας δὲ τὰ ἐντάφια περιερρήξατο καὶ μέγα καὶ διωλύγιον ἀνεβόησεν 'οἴμοι, Καλλιρόη· ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ σά. στέφανος οὗτος, ὃν ἐγὼ σοι περιέθηκα· τοῦτο ὁ πατήρ σοι δέδωκε, τοῦτο ἡ μήτηρ· αὕτη στολὴ νυμφικὴ. τάφος σοι γέγονεν ἡ ναῦς. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν σὰ βλέπω, σὺ δὲ ποῦ; μόνῃ τοῖς ἐνταφίοις ἡ νεκρὰ λείπει.'

... when he was told, he wanted to see this novel sight for himself. When he recognized the funeral offerings, he tore his clothes and uttered a loud, piercing cry: 'Ah, Callirhoe! These are yours! This is the wreath I put on your head! Your father gave you this, your mother this; this is your bridal dress! The ship has turned into your tomb! But—I can see your things, but where are you? The tomb's contents are all there—except the body!'

While the 'novel sight' is made up by a number of specific details (the offerings, the ship), the sum of these details brings to mind the general idea of an inverted tomb robbery, with the treasures intact and the dead body missing. There are other passages, too, in which Chariton stresses the novelty of this motif which he evidently considered a particular achievement of his.²⁰ Earlier in *NAC*, Dionysius imagines how Rumour would spread the novel narrative of Callirhoe's abduction (3.2.7):

ἤδη τρέχει φέρουσα τὸ καινὸν εἰς Σικελίαν διήγημα 'ζῇ Καλλιρόη, καὶ τυμβωρύχοι διορύξαντες τὸν τάφον ἔκλεψαν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν Μιλήτῳ πέπραται.'

... Rumour is rushing to carry to Sicily the novel narrative that Callirhoe is alive—tomb robbers opened her tomb and carried her off, and she has been sold in Miletus!

This passage provides, among other things, the only other occurrence of the phrase 'novel narrative' (*καινὸν διήγημα*) in *NAC*. The context is similar to 3.4.1, for in both cases Rumour brings the novel narra-

²⁰ This also accounts for the fact that book three, in which the tomb robbery is discovered and talked about, has the highest figure of occurrences of *καινός*; cf. above n. 16.

tive to the Syracusan audience. We can confidently assume that the novelty in both places refers to the narrative of the tomb robbery and the related story about Callirhoe's abduction. In 3.2.7, Dionysius is anxious about its coming to Syracuse, in 3.4.1 the Syracusans learn of it, and in 3.4.2, Callirhoe's mother alludes to it by her reference to the 'novel tomb robbers'.

As with the motif of the self-denouncing murderer, there does not seem to be a literary precedent for this novel kind of tomb robbery before Chariton. The empty tomb story of the Gospels, discussed in chapter two, is not only likely to postdate Chariton but also differs from his narrative in many regards. Most importantly, Callirhoe is not resurrected by a divine force but abducted by a band of brigands with serious intentions of grave robbery. Some scholars think of this motif as a generic staple that diffused from folklore into the ideal novels. In this account, all forms of *Scheintod* are lumped together and then, of course, we come out with a great number of parallels from legend, fairy tale, and world literature.²¹ But a narrower definition of the motif seems to do more justice to our case (and in fact to any piece of well-worked literature). This definition should at least include a burial or grave. It could be further narrowed down by the elements of the apparent death of the heroine, of her burial, and her abduction from the tomb by pirates. Such a definition would still be capacious enough to accommodate, for instance, the very similar story told in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* at 3.5–8: Anthia dies a *Scheintod* (here caused by poison), is buried, and eventually stolen from her tomb by pirates. With any reasonably strict definition, however, it seems fair to put down Chariton's emphasis on his tomb robbery to the fact that he was indeed the first author to write a narrative of this kind. Later novelists would have adapted it to their own purposes and it seems to me that at least sometimes they playfully acknowledged a certain authorial significance of the empty tomb story. Perhaps Xenophon wanted to add his signature to it by having the poison for Anthia's *Scheintod* administered by a doctor from Ephesus. And there might well be an arch reference to the inventor of this kind of story when in Achilles Tatius a certain Chaereas hires pirates

²¹ Cf. e.g. Wehrli 1965, 143–4.

to abduct Leucippe. They seemingly behead her and Clitophon buries what he takes to be her body (5.7–8).²²

(iii) Tyche and Eros: lovers of novelty, creators of narratives

Chariton's novelties of the trials and the tomb robbery account for his main narratives until the end of the process at Babylon. This end does not come with a ruling but with a sudden change of circumstances. The erotic affairs are put on hold for the novelty of war (6.8.1):

Πᾶσαν δὲ σκέψιν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐρωτικὴν ὁμιλίαν ταχέως μετέβαλεν ἡ Τύχη, καινοτέρων εὐρούσα πραγμάτων ὑπόθεσιν· βασιλεῖ γὰρ ἦκον ἀπαγγέλλοντες Αἴγυπτον ἀφεστάναι μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς.

Then Fortune brought about a rapid change in the situation, banishing all thought and all discussion of love, and events took a quite novel turn. A report came to the king of a major rebellion in Egypt ...

In its immediate context, Tyche's 'banishing all thought and all discussion of love' refers to Callirhoe's pondering her situation in the narrated world. But the phrase is equally suited to the fact that the author, Chariton, interrupts the erotic discourse of his narratives to introduce a further novel invention, the narrative of Chaereas' warfare in Egypt which dominates large parts of books six and seven. The metaliterary significance of the 'quite novel things' (*καινοτέρων...πραγμάτων*) is not only suggested by the careful placement of this phrase at the beginning of a major narrative. It is substantiated by the facts that Tyche appears as 'inventing' (*εὐρούσα*) these 'novel things' and that they are referred to as a *ὑπόθεσις* ('subject'). Both can be related to the poetics of NAC.

Regarding the inventive role of Tyche, Chariton is of course indebted to the literary tradition, most importantly to historiography and New Comedy. In historiography, Tyche is sometimes credited with a blind power to upset human affairs and make them 'novel'. The philosopher and historian Demetrius of Phaleron (born c.350

²² Cf. for further examples from ideal(-ish) novels AT 3.15–17 (the cultic sacrifice of Leucippe and her resting in a coffin); Iamblichus (according to Phot. *Bibl.* 94.74b42: an astrologer forbids the burial of an apparently dead girl).

bc) wrote a treatise on Tyche in which he declared that she is 'fickle in our lives and makes everything novel against our reason and demonstrates her power in paradoxical things' (fr. 81 Wehrli: ... ἡ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀσύνθετος τύχη καὶ πάντα παρὰ τὸν λογισμὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον καινοποιούσα καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις ἐνδεικνυμένη...). Later, Tyche's role in history was particularly stressed by Polybius who picks up on Demetrius' general idea in a number of places and quotes the above passage at 29.21.5.²³ To some extent Chariton surely relies on this historiographic tradition for his general connection of Tyche with novelty. A significant difference, however, is that historiographers analyse the change that Tyche brings to world history while Chariton employs this change in order to create narratives in his fictional world. Tyche becomes an agent of the author in *NAC*. This metaliterary role of Tyche is reminiscent of New Comedy. From the perspective of characters, Tyche in New Comedy as in romance is a constant source of harassment. Beyond this, Gregor Vogt-Spira has argued that Tyche in New Comedy is also a hidden principle of poetic composition that drives the events towards the happy ending, according to the master plan of the author.²⁴ Chariton makes this metaliterary role of Tyche explicit in that he stages her as a novelty-inducing figure of the author, perhaps combining strains of New Comedy and historiography and experimenting with her potential in his new form of prose fiction.

A dramatic—and with the above discussion in mind perhaps New Comedy-like—conception of Tyche in our passage is not least indicated by the *ὑπόθεσις* of her 'novel things'. The Greek *ὑπόθεσις* has a wide range of meanings which issue from a basic sense of 'subject matter'. Among other things, it can refer to a legal case, a speech, or a drama. While it is clear that in our passage *ὑπόθεσις* designates a narrative—the narrative of the Egyptian rebellion—Chariton nonetheless seems to associate the term with drama. A good parallel is provided by the scene in which Chaereas learns from Mithridates about Callirhoe's marriage with Dionysius. Upon Chaereas' outburst of lament, the ongoing party turns into a grim *ὑπόθεσις*: 'Everyone began to weep; the banquet became a scene of gloom' (4.3.11: *κλάειν*

²³ On Polybius' Tyche and Chariton cf. Zimmermann 1961, 333–5.

²⁴ Cf. Vogt-Spira 1992.

ἤρξαντο πάντες καὶ μετέβαλε τὸ συμπόσιον εἰς σκυθρωπὴν ὑπόθεσιν). Soon afterwards, Chaereas at once decides to rush to Miletus and claim his wife back. Mithridates brings him to his senses with a reference to the 'novelty-loving' Tyche who has staged a 'grim drama' for Chaereas and Callirhoe (4.4.2):

ὄφελον μὴδὲ Σικελίας ἐξήλθετε, μὴδὲ συνέβη τι δεινὸν ἀμφοῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ φιλόκαινος Τύχη δρᾶμα σκυθρωπὸν ὑμῖν περιτέθεικε, βουλευσάσθαι δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐξῆς φρονιμώτερον...

I wish that you had never left Sicily and that no trouble had ever befallen the two of you. But Fortune is novelty-loving, and she has involved you in a grim drama, so you must be very careful what you decide about the next step.

The 'grim drama' (δρᾶμα σκυθρωπὸν) of this passage is reminiscent of the 'grim scene' (σκυθρωπὸς ὑπόθεσις) of 4.3.11. Both phrases point to the larger context of the 'grim events' (σκυθρωπά) of books one to seven, which are theorized in Chariton's poetics of tragicomedy in 8.1.4. Significantly in this context, Tyche herself will be tamed by Aphrodite in 8.1.3, when the 'comic' part of Chariton's poetics of tragicomedy kicks in.²⁵ It may also be worth noting that Tyche's inventive role and her attribute 'novelty-loving' (φιλόκαινος) in 4.4.2 reinforce the metanarrative significance of 6.8.1, the introduction to the narrative of the Egyptian rebellion from where we started and where Tyche has a similar role.

I would like to add some thoughts on the term φιλόκαινος. This word is generally rare and no novelist other than Chariton uses it. Before him, there is a handful of occurrences in Greek literature, the most interesting probably being Polybius 36.13.3: 'The love of novelty natural to man is in itself sufficient to produce any kind of revolution' (αὐτὸ τὸ φύσει φιλόκαινον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱκανὸν ἐστι πρὸς πᾶσαν μεταβολήν).²⁶ But in none of these passages is φιλόκαινος an attribute of a supernatural force like Tyche in Chariton, and none of them can be related to poetics. Chariton refers

²⁵ Cf. above, ch. 2, 31–2.

²⁶ The other passages are Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.6.5, *Dem.* 48; Philo, *De vita Mosis* 1.213, *De Josepho* 36.

φιλόκαινος to a second supernatural force in a similarly metaliterary way. The ‘novelty-loving Tyche’ is helped by a ‘novelty-loving Eros’. The phrase occurs in the context of a conspicuous turning point in NAC, the end of book four. The parties of Callirhoe and Chaereas respectively are summoned by the Great King Artaxerxes to travel to Babylon. Their journey not only implies a geographical relocation from the Greek West to the Persian East. In terms of plot, a transition is made from the major narratives about Callirhoe’s apparent death and her second marriage with Dionysius to the major narratives about the Babylonian trial and the Egyptian rebellion. In terms of books, we come from book four to book five, or from the first four to the last four books. That the author is well aware of this hiatus in the middle of his work is clear from his long recapitulation of events at the beginning of book five. Some scholars have even suggested that the novel was published on two papyri, the first ending with book four and the second beginning with book five.²⁷ However this may be, it goes without saying that such an exposed passage in the middle of the work is a privileged place for metaliterary comment. Many examples of programmatic middles in classical poetry could be compared,²⁸ but I here pick out only two which bear an intriguing, if ultimately elusive, resemblance to Chariton’s. Both Apollonius Rhodius in his *Argonautica* (3.1–5) and Virgil in his *Aeneid* (7.37–45) begin the second half of their works with an invocation of Erato, the Muse of lyric—and especially love—poetry. Apollonius plays on the etymology of her name (derived from the same root as ‘Eros’) and thus quite explicitly links her with Aphrodite and the god of love:

²⁷ Cf. Müller 1976, 119–20; Bowie 1996, 98. In any case Chariton’s marked middle seems to have made an impact on later authors. Whitmarsh 2009 argues, among other things, that Chariton’s division could have inspired Achilles Tatius and Philostratus (in his *Apollonius of Tyana*) to similar structures. It seems to me possible that also Lucian’s mock-ending in the *True Stories* (2.47: ‘What happened in the [sc. other] world I shall narrate to you in the next books’; τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἑξῆς βίβλοις διηγῆσομαι) alludes to Chariton’s middle (Ch. 5.1.2: ‘Now I shall narrate to you what happened next’; τὰ δὲ ἑξῆς νῦν διηγῆσομαι). This would make a particularly nice point if NAC was indeed published in two instalments (with Lucian mischievously opposing Chariton by never coming out with his own second part).

²⁸ Cf. e.g. Conte 1992; Kyriakidis and De Martino 2004; on Chariton’s middle esp. Nimis 2003, 258–64.

‘...for you share the power of Cypris, and by your love-cares you charm unwedded maidens; wherefore to you too is attached a name that tells of love’ (3.3–5: ... σὺ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἶσαν | ἔμμορες, ἀδμήτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις | παρθενικάς· τῷ καὶ τοι ἐπήρατον οὖνομ’ ἀνήπται).²⁹ Virgil’s invocation has been much discussed because it does not introduce a love story in any proper sense (as that of Jason and Medea in Apollonius). But no matter how we read the passage, the (erotic) model of Apollonius is obvious and it seems unlikely to me that notions of love are completely excluded. Whether Chariton was inspired by Apollonius’ and Virgil’s proems in the middle is impossible to decide, but it appears in any case remarkable that at the end of his first half he gives a programmatic role to the ‘novelty-loving’ Eros. The latter appears when Dionysius fears that Callirhoe might be taken away from him (4.7.6):

ἀνὴρ γὰρ πεπαιδευμένος ἐνεθυμείτο ὅτι φιλόκαινός ἐστιν ὁ Ἔρως· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τόξα καὶ πῦρ ποιηταί τε καὶ πλάσται περιτεθείκασιν αὐτῷ, τὰ κουφότατα καὶ στήναι μὴ θέλοντα.

... for he was an educated man and was aware how novelty-loving Eros is—that is why poets and sculptors depict him with bow and arrows and associate him with fire, the most insubstantial, mutable of attributes.

The train of thought here belongs to the author as much as to his character. To some extent the novelty-loving Eros may be a projection of Dionysius’ mental state, but he also concerns Chariton—witness the general consideration about the representation of Eros in poetry and art. Both the narrower and the wider (the middle of *NAC*) context recommend reading the passage as a metaliterary comment. Chariton marks the turning point in his love novel fittingly with a reference to Eros. In keeping with the metaliterary use of *καινός* in *NAC*, the attribute ‘novelty-loving’ foreshadows the novel narratives of the second half of the work. Like Tyche in 6.8.1, Eros here partly becomes a personification of the author who invents *Narratives about Callirhoe*.

²⁹ Cf. Ov. *Ars am.* 2.16: ‘Now, if ever, favour me, Cytherea and your Boy! And you, Erato, for your name is a name of love’ (*Nunc mihi, si quando, puer et Cytherea, favete, | nunc Erato, nam tu nomen Amoris habes*).

(iv) Happy novelties

In Chariton's final book eight, novelty helps tie up loose ends and lead the story towards a grand finale. I do not hang anything on 8.5.6 where Callirhoe's name inflicts a 'novel blow of love' (πληγὴν...καινήν) on Artaxerxes' old wound (ἐπὶ τραύματι παλαιῷ). καινός is here locked in an opposition to παλαιός which refers to plot and psychology rather than any new narrative. 8.5.15, where Dionysius blames his 'novel jealousy' for failing to win Callirhoe (ἀπώλεσέ με καινὴ ζήλοτυπία), is also of dubious metaliterary significance. More relevant to our context is a passage at the beginning of book eight, which precedes the recognition of Chaereas and Callirhoe. Chaereas is just setting sail from Aradus when his Egyptian custodian and his friend Polycharmus refer him to a suicidal woman who refuses to come along. He is told not to leave the most beautiful of spoils behind (8.1.6):

συνεπελάβετο καὶ Πολύχαρμος τοῦ λόγου, βουλόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτόν, εἴ πως δύναίτο, εἰς ἔρωτα καινὸν καὶ Καλλιρόης παραμύθιον.

Polycharmus added his weight to the suggestion; he wanted to push Chaereas into a novel love affair if at all possible, to console him for the loss of Callirhoe.

In the preceding sections, 8.1.1–5, Chariton has given the most striking example of his narrative self-awareness by summarizing his story so far, laying out his poetics of tragicomedy, and announcing his account of the recognition of Chaereas and Callirhoe. In view of this context, I am inclined to assign a metaliterary dimension to the phrase 'novel love' with which the happy ending, theorized immediately before, is actually introduced in 8.1.6. The novelty here is tied up with dramatic irony. Chariton has just informed his readers that the recognition of the romantic couple is going to happen: 'So I shall tell you how the goddess [*sc.* Aphrodite] brought the truth to light and revealed the unrecognized pair to each other.' (8.1.5: πῶς οὖν ἡ θεὸς ἐφώτισε τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τοὺς ἀγνοουμένους ἔδειξεν ἀλλήλοις λέξω). Polycharmus' reference to a 'novel love affair', therefore, is true in a way he did not imagine. For the strange woman he was talking about is of course none other than Callirhoe. In Chariton's poetics,

then, the novelty of this 'novel love affair' puts an accent on the recognition of the protagonists and thus the beginning of their (unusual) happy ending.

The last reference to novelty occurs at 8.6.12, where Chaereas' fleet is coming home to Syracuse. Chaereas and Callirhoe are welcomed enthusiastically. The precious spoils of the war against the Persian king are shown to the public:

... ὥστε ἐνεπλήσθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, οὐκ ὡς πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πενίας Ἀττικῆς, ἀλλὰ, τὸ καινότατον, ἐν εἰρήνῃ λαφύρων Μηδικῶν.

... so that the whole city was filled, not, as previously, after the Sicilian war, with the poverty of Attica, but—a real novelty—with Persian spoils, in time of peace.

Two considerations suggest that we refer the novelty in this passage to more than just a paradoxical effect. First, Chariton is explicitly talking endings: he compares the ending of the Sicilian expedition (ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Σικελικοῦ) with the ending of his own story. This also evokes the literary competition with Thucydides' account of the Sicilian expedition. The novelty claimed for the present scene flags out Chariton's innovation in comparison with this major model. Second, the immediately following chapters 8.7.1–8.8.11 put Chariton's concept of tragicomedy into practice and round off NAC with an extensive recapitulation of his novel narratives, now 'purged' of their grim effects.³⁰ Taking both contexts together, we may conclude that the novelty in the homecoming at 8.6.12 points up the originality of Chariton's story and the way he brings it to its end.

3. NOVELTY IN THE OTHER GREEK NOVELISTS

In the figures presented at the beginning of this chapter Achilles Tatius has almost twice as many occurrences of *καινός* as Chariton, Heliodorus nearly as many and Longus not many fewer. Readers may suspect that I construct a one-sided case in favour of the relevance of

³⁰ Cf. for both aspects—competition with Thucydides and final recapitulation—above, ch. 4, 134–5 and 158.

novelty to Chariton's poetics of invention. I hope to dispel this suspicion by adding a summary discussion of novelty in the other ideal novelists.

(i) Achilles Tatius

Achilles Tatius uses *καινός* to mark out isolated thrills and paradoxical effects rather than major narratives of his story. Consequently, the word is often embedded in digressions and excursions.

One group of examples falls within erotic teaching and the arousal of sexual desire: in 1.9.5, Clinias compares looking at one's beloved to sexual intercourse and refers to this as a 'novel form of intimate embrace' (*καινή γάρ ἐστι σωμάτων συμπλοκή*); in 2.36.1, Menelaus praises impulsive passions: 'What can only be snatched is always novel and blooming—its pleasure never grows old' (*τὸ δὲ ἀρπαζόμενον καινὸν ἐστὶν αἰεὶ καὶ μάλλον ἀνθεί· οὐ γὰρ γεγηρακυῖαν ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν ...*); similarly in 4.8.2, Clitophon argues for the specific qualities of a kiss as opposed to 'Aphrodite's consummation': 'For a kiss has no moment of satiation, no point of return, the novelty never wears off' (*φίλημα δὲ καὶ ἀόριστόν ἐστι καὶ ἀκόρεστον καὶ καινὸν αἰεὶ*); the contrast between new, strong and old, weak pleasures is again exploited in 6.17.4, Sosthenes' analysis of the fickleness of women: 'A new passion makes the old one wither. A woman especially loves what is present and remembers what is absent only so long as she has not found something novel' (*παλαιὸν γὰρ ἔρωτα μαραίνει νέος ἔρως· γυνὴ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ παρὸν φιλεῖ, τοῦ δὲ ἀπόντος, ἕως καινὸν οὐχ εἶρε, μνημονεύει ...*).

A second group is made up of remarks on curiosities of nature. Four times a paradoxical mixture of water and land makes for a novelty: in 2.14.4, the geographical location of Tyre between land and sea provides a 'novel sight' (*θέαμα καινόν*); the same phrase is used in 4.12.1 where the inundation of the Nile brings ships and spades together (*θέαμα καινόν, ναῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ δίκελλα*); in 4.14.8, the flooding of a dam dooms Charmides' army which suffers 'novel accidents and shipwreck everywhere without a ship: both were novel and paradoxical—land troops fighting in water and shipwreck on the land' (*καὶ ἦν καινὰ ἀτυχήματα, καὶ ναυάγια τοσαῦτα, καὶ ναῦς*

οὐδαμοῦ. ἀμφότερα δὲ καινὰ καὶ παράλογα, ἐν ὕδατι πεζομαχία, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ νανάγια). In 4.4.6, Charmides describes an elephant and refers to its rider as a 'novel jockey' (καινὸς . . . ἱππεὺς); still on the subject of the elephant, Charmides remembers watching the 'novel sight' (4.4.7: θέαμα καινόν) of a man inserting his head into the mouth of this animal. A similar interest in natural history accounts for the description of Leucippe's tears as a 'novel amber' in 6.7.3: 'If they could have been congealed as they fell, the earth would have possessed a novel kind of amber' (εἰ δὲ ἡδύνατο παγήναι πεσόντα, καινὸν ἂν εἶχεν ἤλεκτρον ἢ γῆ).

A third group of novelties occurs in ecphraseis: the sea storm at 3.3.3 brings a 'a most novel naval encounter' (ναυμαχίας καινὸς τρόπος) between the passengers of a lifeboat and the crew of a drowning ship; in 3.7.2 a picture shows Andromeda chained to the rock like a 'novel icon' (εἶκε . . . ἀγάλματι καινῷ); in the description of Alexandria at 5.1.6, 'two novel and unheard-of contests' take place: 'The city's very largeness challenged its loveliness, and the populace vied with the city for size' (εἶδον δὲ δύο καινὰ καὶ παράλογα, μεγέθους πρὸς κάλλος ἄμιλλαν καὶ δήμου πρὸς πόλιν φιλονεικίαν).

The 'novelty' in these examples does not go beyond the isolated discussions, digressions and excursuses in which it occurs. In a way, the word καινός does have a metaliterary function here in that it draws attention to what is really Achilles' achievement: precisely the introduction of these secondary discourses to the form of the love novel. But this has little to do with Chariton's fundamental novelty of narratives. We are left with seven occurrences of καινός in Achilles which appear to be relevant to the main narrative. Some passages seem to depend on Chariton and could have picked up the reference to novelty in the process of borrowing. The combination of Tyche, drama, and novelty in AT 6.3.1 is reminiscent of Chariton's Tyche passages, particularly Ch. 4.4.2. In both passages, an apparently dead husband and a case of adultery is involved. In Achilles, the 'adulterer' Clitophon laments the homecoming of Melite's husband Thersandros. In Chariton, Mithridates warns Chaereas of rushing to his 'adulterous' wife Callirhoe:

AT 6.3.1: Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ συνήθης Τύχη πάλιν ἐπιτίθεται καὶ συντίθεται κατ' ἐμοῦ δράμα καινόν . . .

But as for me, my usual bad luck set her sights on me once again and arranged a novel drama to undo me.

~ Ch. 4.4.2: ἡ φιλόκαινος Τύχη δράμα σκυθρωπὸν ὑμῖν περιτέθεικε ...

Fortune is novelty-loving, and she has involved you in a grim drama ...

It may be argued, however, that the adultery story about Melite and Clitophon is really an original variation on Chariton's model and can therefore justly be called 'novel' as far as implied poetics is concerned. This could find support in other occurrences of *καινός* in the context of this adultery story. In 5.18.6, Clitophon receives a letter from Leucippe in which she wishes him 'Farewell; be happy in your novel marriage' (ἔρρωσο, καὶ ὄναιο τῶν καινῶν γάμων). At 5.26.4, Melite complains: 'The problems I face are all novel. Even the dead rise up against me' (κατ' ἐμοῦ γὰρ πάντα καινά· ἀναβιοῦσι καὶ νεκροί). Chariton's empty tomb narrative, apparently the most prominent of its kind at Achilles' time, may underlie what seems to be Melite's literary memory when she punningly opposes the novelty of her 'empty bed' to an 'empty tomb' she has seen before (5.14.4):

‘Καινόν’, εἶπεν, ‘ἐγὼ μόνη πέπονθα καὶ οἶον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀφανέσι ποιοῦσι νεκροῖς· κενοτάφιον μὲν γὰρ εἶδον, κενογάμιον δὲ οὐ.’

How novel! This is rather like the ceremony for persons whose bodies can't be found: I've heard before of a tomb without a tenant, but not of a bride's empty bed.

In my above discussion of Chariton's 'novel narrative' of the tomb robbery I have noted that this narrative could have cued the apparent cultic sacrifice of Leucippe and her 'burial' in a coffin (AT 3.15–17).³¹ Achilles' reference to novelty in this scene seems fittingly limited to his particular innovation, the spectacular atrocity of it. He has the participants of a barbaric ceremony disembowel Leucippe and eat her entrails. In 3.16.4, Clitophon breaks out over Leucippe's coffin: 'Oh, wicked votive candles! Oh, novel communion service!' (ὦ πονηρᾶς ἐπὶ βωμοῦ δαδουχίας· ὦ τροφῶν καινὰ μυστήρια). Another passage describing one of Leucippe's apparent deaths seems at least in its phrasing indebted to Chariton:

AT 7.5.1: τίς μοι Λευκίππην ἔδειξεν εἰς καινὴν ὑπόθεσιν συμφορῶν;

³¹ Cf. above, 182 with n. 22.

What god put Leucippe on display in this novel plot of disasters?

~ Ch. 6.8.1: ... ἡ Τύχη, καινοτέρων εὐροῦσα πραγμάτων ὑπόθεσιν.

... Fortune brought about a plot of novel things.

There remains only one passage, which does not appear particularly relevant from a metaliterary point of view. In 6.21.2, Leucippe defies the threats of torture and promises a ‘novel fight’:

ἀγῶνα θεάσασθε καιόν· πρὸς πάσας τὰς βασάνους ἀγωνίζεται μία γυνή καὶ πάντα νικᾷ

Watch a novel contest: a single woman competes with all the engines of torture and wins every round.

This passage would be more interesting in our context if it started a new narrative about Leucippe’s brave resistance—which it does not. Leucippe’s ‘novel contest’ reflects her strong character and underlines her resolve.

Apart from Chariton, Achilles Tatius seems to be the only Greek novelist in whose poetics novelty becomes an explicit category. This could be studied in its own right, but does not need to be followed up here. What matters in our context is that novelty in Achilles does not nearly cover the sum total of narratives as it does in Chariton, but is mostly limited to secondary discourses. References to novelty do not start new narratives of the plot, there is no ‘novel narrative’ (καιὸν διήγημα), and novelty is not an attribute of personifications of the author.

(ii) Heliodorus

To Heliodorus’ twelve occurrences of *καινός* we can add related word forms used by him only: twice *καινοτομέω* (‘cut fresh into’, ‘begin something new’), twice *καινουργέω* (‘make new’), and twice *καινουργός* (‘new-making’). These additional words are due to the general complexity of Heliodorus’ vocabulary rather than a special interest in novelty as a category of poetics. Unlike Achilles, Heliodorus has barely any references to novelty in digressions. The only example is 1.5.4, the lake-dwelling Egyptian herdsmen who tie their children up to keep them at a safe distance from the water: ‘A novel

way to keep children in hand, to tie them by the feet!' (*καινόν τινα χειραγωγὸν αὐτῷ τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπιστήσας*).

A number of occurrences focus on objects or events which strike the narrator or his character for a particular reason belonging to the narrated world: in the opening scene, brigands are scanning the remnants of a battle on the beach when they realize that, among other things, wine bowls were used as a novel kind of weapon: 'the suddenness of the catastrophe had caused objects to be put to novel uses' (1.1.4: *τὸ γὰρ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ κακοῦ τὰς χρείας ἐκαινοτόμει*); in 8.11.10, Theagenes fears that Arsace is devising 'a novel kind of punishment' (*καινότερον τιμωρίας τρόπον*); in 9.6.6, Oroondates weighs a short conventional death against a cruel and novel one (*θανάτου... ὠμοτάτου... καινουργουμένου*).

A further group takes the form of questions about the mental state of characters. Novelty here hints at unusual psychological distress: in 1.25.2 (twice) Charicleia has seemingly yielded to a marriage with the brigand Thyamis; Theagenes bursts into tears: '... and when she asked him whether these tears were caused by the same woes that had caused them both so many tears before, or whether some novel affliction had befallen him (*ἢ [εἰ] μὴ τι πεπόνθοι καινότερον*), he answered, "What affliction could be more novel (*τί γένοιτ' ἄν... καινότερον*), more unrighteous than oaths and vows transgressed ..."'; in 5.29.3, Calasiris enquires about the nature of Charicleia's sadness: 'is the cause of your weeping the same as before or something novel?' (*θρηγείς δ' οὖν ὅμως ἂ καὶ πρότερον ἢ τι καινότερον*); and in 7.9.5, Arsace's chambermaid Cybele asks her about the reason for her passion: 'What is the matter, mistress? What is this novel pain that makes you suffer so?' (*Τί ταῦτα... ὧ δέσποινα; τί σε νέον ἢ καινὸν ἀλγύνει πάθος*).

Other instances seem to be modelled on passages from Chariton and Achilles discussed above. In 7.6.4, 'a sort of Tyche' (*τύχη τις*) intervenes in the battle between the brothers Thyamis and Petosiris and starts a new tragic episode:

... τότε δὴ πως εἴτε τι δαϊμόνιον εἴτε τύχη τις τὰ ἀνθρώπεια βραβεύουσα καινὸν ἐπεισόδιον ἐπετραγῶδει τοῖς δρωμένοις ...

...at that very moment either some divine power or some fortune that arbitrates over human destiny made the drama take a novel and tragic twist ...

This recalls the dramatic interventions of Tyche in Ch. 4.4.2 and AT 6.3.1, quoted earlier in my discussion of Achilles Tatius.³² Ahead of the battle, Thyamis may have Chariton's 'novelty-loving' Tyche in mind when he states that 'the fortunes of man often have a way of producing novel and unexpected results' (7.5.5: *πολλὰ καὶ παράδοξα πολλάκις αἱ κατ' ἀνθρώπους τύχαι καινουργούσιν*). I have already dealt with 8.8.3, where Charicleia ridicules the threat of torture and thus provides 'a novel sight to those who were there to see her'. This seems not only dependent on Ch. 1.5.4 and AT 7.8.1, as suggested above,³³ but also on Leucippe's defiant 'Watch a novel contest' in AT 6.21.2. Lastly, in 9.5.5 Heliodorus seems to pick up on Achilles' (4.14.8) description of the paradoxical confusion of water and land in a military excursion: 'This was a most novel spectacle (*θεαμάτων τὸ καινότατον*): a ship crossing from one wall to another, a sailor sailing over the countryside, a ferry plying over ploughed fields! War is a constant producer of novelties (*καινουργὸς δὲ ὢν αἰεί πως ὁ πόλεμος*) ...'. These passages attest to intertextual relations and a certain generic awareness. But as with Achilles, they do not nearly cover the complex plot of Heliodorus' narratives and hardly imply any claim that those narratives are fundamentally new.

There remains a small group of four potentially metaliterary passages, the most interesting of which is 4.9.1: Calasiris tells Cnemon about the waistband given to baby Charicleia as a sign of recognition and containing the story of her mother—which amounts to the prehistory of the *Aethiopica*:

Ταῦτα, ὦ Κνήμων, ὡς ἀνέγγων, ἐγνώριζον μὲν καὶ τὴν ἐκ θεῶν οἰκονομίαν ἐθαύμαζον ἥδονῆς δὲ ἅμα καὶ λύπης ἐνεπλήσθηην καὶ πάθος τι καινότερον ὑπέστην ὁμοῦ δακρύων καὶ χαίρων...

On reading this, Cnemon, I perceived the hand of the gods and marvelled at the subtlety of their governance. I was filled with a mixture of pleasure and sadness and had the novel experience of being moved simultaneously to joy and tears.

³² Cf. further Heliodorus' 'arbitrating Tyche' (*τύχη... βραβεύουσα*) with Ch. 4.5.3 'Tyche... arbitrated' (*Τύχη... ἐβράβευσεν*).

³³ See above, 175–7.

Charicleia's waistband—if not identical to the novel—tells a related story. This encourages a self-referential reading in which 'economy' (οἰκονομία) also refers to literary arrangement (a current meaning of this word), and the reaction of Calasiris stages the reception of the *Aethiopica* with the reading audience. The novelty, however, refers to the emotions of the readers rather than to the narrative itself. In 4.18.2, Charicleia is fleeing from Delphi and overwhelmed by the events: 'she was overcome by shame at the novel events that had just taken place' (τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄρτι καινοτομουμένην ἐρυθριῶσα). This *could* be taken as an authorial comment on the invention of this episode, but there is no further hint that we *should* give the passage this additional dimension. The same is true for 8.10.2, when Charicleia acknowledges the novelty of her salvation from the stake: 'My novel deliverance... certainly bears all the marks of a supernatural or divine intervention to save me' (Τὸ μὲν γὰρ καινουργὸν... τῆς σωτηρίας δαιμονία τινὲ καὶ θεῖα παντάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσίᾳ ...). In 8.12.4, the eunuch Euphrates reacts to the delivery of a letter with the question: τί ἄρα καινὸν ἀγγέλλει πάθος ἢ αἰφνίδιος σου καὶ ἀπροσδόκητος ἄφιξις; 'What novel calamity have you got for us, suddenly turning up without warning like this?' It might be argued that this 'novel calamity' pushes the events forward. There is a difference, however, between pushing the events forward and calling attention to pushing the events forward, and indeed there is no suggestion that a new episode is introduced at this point. All considered, it can be said that Heliodorus does not make extensive use of novelty as a metaliterary motif.

(iii) Longus and Xenophon of Ephesus

I can discuss Longus relatively quickly because nowhere in *Daphnis and Chloe* can we find uses of novelty comparable with NAC. Some occurrences of καινός in Longus plainly refer to the fact that objects are new—in which case no nuance of 'unusualness' seems to be implied: in 1.28.3, Chloe brings novel/new pan pipes (σύριγγα καινὴν) to Daphnis. This could be a potent metaliterary scene in a pastoral novel, but the pan pipes are referred to very casually here and forgotten as soon as the next sentence, where Chloe drops them

on hearing Daphnis cry for help against the pirates. Similarly, in 4.4.4 Daphnis equips himself with novel/new milk bowls (ἐμέλησεν αὐτῷ... σκαφίδων καινῶν ...). Other passages mark new steps in the psychological development of the protagonists: in 1.18.1, Chloe's kiss is something novel to Daphnis (τοῦτο φίλημα καινόν); after that, in 1.18.2, Daphnis experiences love as a novel disease (ὡ νόσου καινῆς ...); similarly, in 3.24.1, the summer brings novel pleasures (καιναὶ τέρψεις). The remaining three passages refer to witty details which are certainly inventive and may be read as a metaliterary comment on this inventiveness. But they do not make up a larger narrative poetics of novelty centred on the very term *καινός*: we have the novelty of asking 'for a son's hand in marriage' (3.30.2: τὸ καινότατον, μνᾶσθαι νυμφίον); 'a novel kind of mourning—for flowers' (4.8.1: καινὸν πένθος ἀνθῶν); and, most novel too, the possibility that 'Daphnis would have been lost as soon as he'd been found' (4.22.3: Καὶ ἴσως ἂν, τὸ καινότατον, εὐρεθεὶς ἀπωλώλει Δάφνις ...).

For the sake of completeness, I add the single, unremarkable, occurrence of *καινός* in Xenophon of Ephesus. It refers to the psychological condition of Anthia who is experiencing the symptoms of love: 'I am in love, although I am too young, and I feel a novel pain not proper for a young girl' (1.4.6: παρθένος παρ' ἡλικίαν ἐρῶ καὶ ὀδυνῶμαι καινὰ καὶ κόρη μὴ πρέποντα).

What is the upshot of this analysis? I would not like to create the impression that the Greek novelists apart from Chariton did not use terms of novelty in significant metaliterary ways. Particularly in the case of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus a dedicated study of such terms would be rewarding and could reveal more metaliterary awareness and sophistication than I have done. My point, however, is not that Achilles and Heliodorus are not sophisticated (they are much more so than Chariton is) or not interested in playing with novelty, let alone related notions such as the 'paradoxical'. What I mean to drive home is that Chariton, as far as a fundamental concept of narratives is concerned, uses the idea of novelty in a much more far-reaching and explicit way than the other Greek novelists. He expresses what I have termed his 'claims of originality' throughout the novel, speaks twice of a 'novel narrative' which resembles his own *Narratives about Callirhoe*, and identifies as author with 'novelty-loving' allegories of Eros and Tyche. Novelty is a basic category in

Chariton's narrative rationale in that it relates to virtually all the major episodes of *NAC* and sometimes even introduces (and triggers?) them. If we took away all the episodes that Chariton at one point or another classifies as original or novel we would be left with little, while in the other authors large parts of the plot would remain. A detailed study of novelty in the other novelists may correct this result here and there, but I do not think this would change the big picture.

Of course my argument in this chapter is not that Chariton's concern with novelty *must* be a consequence of his inventing a new form. A number of other causes and purposes is possible, although they remain vague and I cannot find good reasons to consider them probable. Chariton could simply have sold his narratives as 'novel'. The literary-historical reasons for such an advertising strategy, however, would be interesting to know. There is a chance that they come down to the same thing which I claim. Personally, I feel that a mere advertising strategy is not sufficient to explain Chariton's concern with novelty, which seems to be at least as significant to the author (as a category of writing) as to his audience (as a category of reading). This is not to say that authors do not write with a certain audience in mind, but clearly there are issues of poetics which they have to sort out for themselves. Chariton's explicit claims of originality may be more reader-oriented, but his comparatively discreet references to novelty could easily be lost on his audience. Even so, Chariton could have feigned a pose of working on poetics (but why and for whom?); or he could have been a very conceited writer and flattered himself on novelties which in actual fact were of less significance than he liked to think. Nobody can know such things. In the end we need to stick to a given set of evidence and a larger framework in which we choose to read it. My larger framework is laid out in the rest of this book, in my various arguments from poetics and literary history. If we read the analysis of the present chapter in this context, I think Chariton's use of novelty makes a legitimate point in the cumulative case for his invention of the ideal novel.

Narrative

1. 'NARRATIVE'

In my chapter on novelty I drew attention to Chariton's unparalleled use of the phrase *καινὸν διήγημα*, 'novel narrative', by which he refers to the story of Callirhoe's abduction from her grave. Chariton's general awareness of writing 'narratives' (*διηγήματα*) is at least as pronounced as his awareness of literary novelty. And compared with the other novelists, his concern with 'narratives' is even more distinctive than is the case with 'novelties'. 'Narrative' seems to be another fundamental category in Chariton's coming to terms with his writing. In this chapter I analyse Chariton's use of the terms for 'narrative' (*διήγημα*) and 'to narrate' (*διηγείσθαι*). Other Greek novelists sometimes employ related terms such as *διήγησις* ('narration'), which I discuss in due course. They do not make a big difference in the total balance.

The figures for the occurrence of the abstract noun *διήγημα*—beside *διήγησις* the most interesting form as far as awareness of the very idea of 'narrative' is concerned—are twenty-one in Chariton, fourteen in Heliodorus, ten in Xenophon of Ephesus, two in Achilles Tatius, and zero in Longus. If we consider the whole of Greek literature from Homer to the end of the second century AD, Chariton's figures are only topped by the rhetor Theon of Alexandria (twenty-four occurrences) who—among other things—wrote about the very category of *διήγημα*;¹ apart from Theon and Chariton, only Plutarch (fifteen in his whole voluminous *oeuvre*) and Xenophon of

¹ See below, 200–1, with a brief discussion of Theon's date.

Ephesus (ten) are in double figures. The numbers for διηγείσθαι, too, see Chariton clearly in front among the novelists: I count thirty-one occurrences in Chariton, nineteen in Achilles Tatius, thirteen in Xenophon of Ephesus, eleven in Heliodorus, and nine in Longus. The comparison with the whole corpus of Greek literature is less striking here, but still points to a peculiarity of Chariton. There are only four authors who predate Chariton and have more occurrences of διηγείσθαι, but none of them contains as many in a single work. Xenophon of Athens comes out at fifty-five, but his highest figure in a single work, the *Cyropaedia*, is fourteen; Plato has forty-nine occurrences overall, of which fourteen are in the *Symposium*; Dionysius of Halicarnassus also has forty-nine, of which thirty come in *Roman Antiquities*; Demosthenes thirty-nine, of which six are in *Contra Polyclem*.

How can we account for Chariton’s preoccupation with ‘narrative’? An obvious lead is rhetoric, which developed the only theory of prose narrative in antiquity. In his first sentence Chariton not only introduces himself as a narrator (διηγήσομαι, ‘I am going to narrate’), but also as a secretary to a rhetor. Add to this that of all novelists Chariton is by far the most interested in law and legal questions.² This suggests that rhetoric was at least part of Chariton’s profession, and it seems fair to look for influences on his writing from this direction. However, my argument will not be that Chariton is more ‘rhetorical’ than other novelists as far as ecphrastic set pieces, persuasive speeches, ornate language, and other devices of oratorical artistry are concerned.³ In this regard we find much more material for analysis in the later, ‘sophistic’, novels. Nor will I suggest that rhetoric is in any way the origin of romance, as has sometimes been propounded in the history of scholarship. Rather, my idea is that Chariton in inventing the ideal novel falls back on ‘narrative’ as a basic category of rhetoric, and that he uses this category as a thinking tool for constructing his story. To develop this idea, I first discuss the category of literary narrative in roughly contemporaneous rhetoric, then scrutinize Chariton’s references to ‘narrative’ (διήγημα), and

² Cf. above, ch. 5, 177 with n. 19.

³ Cf. on such aspects in Chariton e.g. Hernández Lara 1990; Ruiz Montero 1991b and 1994a, 1041–4; Laplace 1997; Álvarez 1998; Doulamis 2001.

finally compare his use of the term with that of the other authors of ideal novels.

2. NARRATIVE IN RHETORIC

Rhetoric usually conceives of narrative as the second part in a courtroom speech, sandwiched between the *exordium* (προοίμιον) and the *argumentatio* (πίστεις). The function of narrative here is to lay out the facts of the case in a way that is favourable to the speaker. This idea of narrative is tightly linked with pragmatic purposes in court and generally remote from literary narrative. But the assorted rhetorical theories gain complexity over time and by the Hellenistic period they include—if marginally—literary narrative, too. Hellenistic rhetorical theory, however, is almost completely lost to us. We have to rely for one thing on Latin sources from the first centuries BC and AD; for another thing on the so called progymnasmata,⁴ short exercises in prose composition for students on their way to rhetoric proper. These exercises are divided in twelve to fourteen different categories such as μῦθος (fable), διήγημα (narrative), or χρεία (anecdotal apophthegm). Of these categories, discussed in individual chapters of the progymnasmata, διήγημα is of course the most interesting in view of Chariton's narrative. Perhaps such exercises were known as early as the late classical period, but the extant texts date to the Christian Era. Most scholars regard the *Progymnasmata* by Theon of Alexandria as the first extant example. They are usually placed in the first century AD, mainly on the grounds of parallels with Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (before AD 96). Quintilian not only seems to take the system of progymnasmata in general for granted, but to rely specifically on Theon or something similar to Theon's text.⁵ In a different context, he also refers to a rhetor Theon (*Inst.* 3.6.49) who might be our writer of progymnasmata. Theon could have been a contemporary of Chariton. Unlike the other authors of

⁴ Cf. Kennedy 2003 for an introduction to and English translations of our extant progymnasmata. I use Kennedy's translation in my quotations.

⁵ On Theon and Quintilian cf. e.g. Patillon and Bolognesi 1997, viii–xvi; Reinhardt and Winterbottom 2006, xxx–xxxiv and 75–7.

progymnasmata, he provides a general introduction on the educational context and the place of the progymnasmata in the curriculum, which is of some interest for my analysis. More than that, his chapter on διήγημα is particularly long and detailed, and therefore offers a good point of reference. For these reasons I take Theon's example to illustrate my more general case for rhetorical exercises as a technical inspiration for Chariton. Some scholars have placed Theon later than the first century AD. Malcolm Heath has recently even suggested a date as late as the fifth century AD.⁶ It remains to be seen whether this suggestion will find wider acceptance. Reinhardt and Winterbottom argue that if indeed Theon wrote after Quintilian, 'we should have to assume that Quintilian had read some very similar forerunner'.⁷ If Chariton did not know Theon's progymnasmata, he too might have known such a forerunner. More importantly, rhetorical exercises as such must have existed in Chariton's time, and if my specific references to Theon imply some chronological speculation, my general case for 'narrative' in progymnasmata is a different matter. But I would like to start from the beginning, that is from the emergence of rhetorical theory on literary narrative from the darkness in which we have been left by the vagaries of transmission.

(i) Literary narrative

The first extant rhetorical treatises which consider literary forms of narrative are the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De inventione*. These works depend on a common Hellenistic source and often provide a similar text. In their division of narrative, two judicial genres are accompanied by a 'third genre unconnected with public issues' (*Rhet. Her.* 1.8.12–13: *Tertium genus est id, quod a causa civili remotum est...*; *Cic. Inv.* 1.19.27: *tertium genus est remotum a civilibus causis...*). They further divide this third genre in two species, one concerned with events, the other with persons. This subdivision is otherwise not attested and poses particular problems

⁶ Cf. Heath 2002–3, esp. 141–58.

⁷ Reinhardt and Winterbottom 2006, 77 n. 11.

which I discuss at the end of this section in an excursus. For the time being I would like to focus on the division within the species of events, which corresponds in later—but probably more traditional—theory⁸ to the division of the whole third genre. As a basis for my further discussion I quote Cicero's text which, contrary to the *Rhetoric to Herennius*, gives examples. I include Cicero's introductory remarks on the division of the genre (*Inv.* 1.19.27):

tertium genus est remotum a civilibus causis, quod delectationis causa non inutili cum exercitatione dicitur et scribitur. eius partes sunt duae, quarum altera in negotiis, altera in personis maxime versatur. ea, quae in negotiorum expositione posita est, tres habet partes: fabulam, historiam, argumentum. fabula est, in qua nec verae nec veri similes res continentur, cuiusmodi est: 'Angues ingentes alites, iuncti iugo...'. historia est gesta res, ab aetatis nostrae memoria remota; quod genus: 'Appius indixit Carthaginiensibus bellum'. argumentum est ficta res, quae tamen fieri potuit. huiusmodi apud Terentium: 'Nam is postquam excessit ex ephebis...'.
 The third kind is wholly unconnected with public issues, and is recited or written solely for amusement but at the same time provides valuable training. It is subdivided into two classes: one concerned with events, the other principally with persons. That which consists of an exposition of events has three forms: *fabula*, *historia*, *argumentum*. *Fabula* is the term applied to a narrative in which the events are not true and have not verisimilitude, for example: 'Huge winged dragons yoked to a car' [Pacuvius fr. 397 R]. *Historia* is an account of actual occurrences remote from the recollection of our own age, as: 'War on men of Carthage Appius decreed' [Enn. *Ann.* 7.233 V]. *Argumentum* is a fictitious narrative which nevertheless could have occurred. An example may be quoted from Terence: 'For after he had left the school of youth...' [*An.* 51].

This theory derives the basic division of literary narrative from its relation to the real world. A true story is a 'history', an untrue but probable story a 'fiction', and an untrue and improbable story a 'fable'. Cicero exemplifies these species with (historical) epic, comedy, and tragedy respectively, which suggests that at least he associates non-forensic narrative primarily with verse. In the first century AD, Quintilian has a slightly different but on the whole quite similar system. He refers to *fabula* and *argumentum* as 'poetical' and opposes

⁸ Cf. e.g. Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.2, quoted below, and the subdivisions of narrative in the progymnasmata apart from Theon.

them to historical narrative. His discussion is set in the context of separating the higher charges of *rhetores* from the lower ones of *grammatici* (*Inst.* 2.4.2):

Et quia narrationum, excepta qua in causis utimur, tris accipimus species, fabulam, quae versatur in tragoediis atque carminibus non a veritate modo, sed etiam a forma veritatis remota, argumentum, quod falsum, sed vero simile comoediae fingunt, historiam, in qua est gestae rei expositio, grammaticis autem poeticas dedimus: apud rhetorem initium sit historia, tanto robustior, quanto verior.

We are told that there are three species of narrative, apart from the one used in actual court cases. One is fable, found in tragedies and poems, and remote not only from truth but from the appearance of truth. The second is plot, which is the false but probable fiction of comedy. The third is history, which contains the narration of actual events. We have given poetical narratives to the *grammatici*; the *rhetor* should begin with historical ones, which are more grown-up because they are more real.

Quintilian does not go on to explain the nature of historical narrative in greater detail, but from what he is saying we must conclude that he refers to prose. An exclusively prosaic approach is taken by the extant treatises on progymnasmata. Theon is the only author of such treatises to inform us in an introduction about the wider scope of the exercises in view of eloquence in general and prose composition in particular. One passage demonstrates that rhetorical exercise was not supposed to shape only orators, but all kinds of future speakers and writers (70.26–30 Patillon-Bolognesi):

πάνν ἐστὶν ἐναγκαῖον ἡ τῶν γυμνασμάτων ἄσκησις οὐ μόνον τοῖς μέλλουσι ῥητορεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἢ ποιητῶν ἢ λογοποιῶν ἢ ἄλλων τινῶν λόγων δύναμιν ἐθέλει μεταχειρίζεσθαι. Ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα οἰονεῖ θεμέλια πάσης τῆς τῶν λόγων ιδέας...

...training in exercises is absolutely useful not only to those who are going to practice rhetoric but also if one wishes to undertake the function of poets or historians or any other writers. These things are, as it were, the foundation of every kind of discourse...

Unlike other writers of progymnasmata, Theon does not systematically divide narrative. He speaks, however, in a number of places of the ‘mythical’ and the ‘historical’ narrative (μυθική | πραγματική διήγησις) and illustrates these categories with prose, for instance at

66.16–31 Patillon-Bolognesi: the ‘most beautiful’ (κάλλιστα) examples of ‘mythical’ narratives come from Plato and Theopompus; of ‘historical’ narratives from Herodotus, Thucydides, Ephorus, Philistus, and Demosthenes. The difference between these types is not always clear-cut: Plato’s account of the ring of Gyges (*Resp.* 2.359b–60a), for instance, exemplifies the ‘mythical’ narrative whereas Ephorus’ (*FGrH* 70 F 57) and Philistus’ (*FGrH* 556 F 1) story of Daedalus’ arrival at the court of Cocalus, the king of the Sicanians, is found under ‘historical’ narrative. It is evident, however, that historians constitute the largest group in the examples given. They account for five out of seven authors.⁹ With Chariton in mind, it is also noteworthy that the single most quoted historian in Theon is Thucydides.¹⁰ Moreover, among Theon’s favourite historians, Theopompus and Philistus were considered imitators of Thucydides, and Philistus in particular had strong ties to Sicily. Theopompus of Chios (fourth century BC) continued Thucydides’ history with his *Hellenica*. He included three books on Sicily in his universal *History of Philip*, which dealt with the tyranny of Dionysius I and II (*FGrH* 115 F 184). Philistus of Syracuse (c.430–356 BC), was historian of Dionysius I and II and wrote a *History of Sicily* from the mythical beginnings until 363/2 BC. His imitation of Thucydides is attested by a number of testimonials (*FGrH* 556 T 14, 16, and 17). T 14 is a passage from Theon, in which the rhetor argues in favour of paraphrase as a pedagogical method: ‘Indeed, Philistus in his history of Sicily borrowed almost the whole account of the war with Athens from Thucydides.’ (63.22–4 Patillon-Bolognesi: *Καὶ μέντοι γε ὁ Φίλιστος τὸν Ἀττικὸν ὅλον πόλεμον ἐν τοῖς Σικελικοῖς ἐκ τῶν Θουκυδίδου μετενέηνοχε*). It is tempting to speculate that in conceiving NAC Chariton took a cue from this prominent role of Thucydides in rhetorical exercise.

In any case, the examples from historiography, the exclusive focus on prose composition, and the elaborate discussion of ‘narrative’ make the progymnasmata our best guess at a potential source of inspiration for Chariton’s idea of narrative. Add to this the easy

⁹ Generally on the prominence of historians in progymnasmata cf. Bompaire 1976 and Gibson 2004.

¹⁰ Theon’s ‘special interest in Thucydides’ is noted by Kennedy 2003, 1.

access to progymnasmata and their wide circulation as school books. The question arises as to how the prose narrative of the rhetor and the prose narrative of the novelist might be related. Indeed, the idea that the latter grew out of the former is as old as Rohde's seminal study on the Greek novel. Rohde starts from the fact that in Byzantine terminology novels were often referred to as 'drama' (δράμα or δραματικόν). According to him, this points to the rhetorical species of fictitious literary narrative which is in Latin called *argumentum* and appears in later Greek progymnasmata as διήγημα πλασματικόν or διήγημα δραματικόν. Rohde goes on to imagine how a rhetor would have expanded on such narratives and so created the Greek novel:¹¹

Wie nun z. B. der berühmte Sophist Nicostratus 'dramatische Mythen' geringeren Umfangs geschrieben hatte, so mochte ja auch einmal ein Rhetor auf die Ausbildung weiter ausgesponnener 'dramatischer Erzählungen' in dieser Bedeutung verfallen: und das waren dann eben die Romane.

We would love to know more about the Macedonian orator T. Aurelianus Nicostratus, who lived in the second century AD. Hermogenes praises him for his invention of myths, including 'dramatic' myths: 'He also made up many myths by himself, not only Aesopic ones, but of the sort that could be called "dramatic"' (*Id.* 2.12.407 Rabe: ὅς γε καὶ μύθους αὐτὸς πολλοὺς ἔπλασεν, οὐκ Αἰσωπείους μόνον, ἀλλ' οἷους εἶναι πῶς καὶ δραματικούς). Unfortunately it is not at all clear what a 'dramatic myth' would look like, and any conclusion from this phrase about 'dramatic' narratives or novels is hazardous. But this does not detract from the idea that the origin of the Greek novel lies in rhetorical exercises in narrative. Some twenty years on, Rohde repeated his view in a more general way when remarking that ancient rhetorical theory covered the narrative nucleus of the novels:¹²

Nicht einmal der antiken literarischen Theorie war er [sc. the novel] ganz fremd: was sind denn die δράματα, διηγήματα δραματικά, *argumenta*, von denen antike Rhetoren reden, Anderes als prosaische Romanerzählungen *in nuce*?

¹¹ Rohde 1914³ (1876), 377–9.

¹² Rohde 1897, 302 (review of Schwartz 1896).

In the wake of Rohde, this view was fostered for some decades in German scholarship, for instance by Wilhelm Schmid, who explicitly referred to the progymnasmatic *δραματικὸν διήγημα* as the ‘*Urzelle, aus der sich der Liebesroman entwickelt hat*’.¹³ Eventually, the discussion was put to rest by Karl Barwick.¹⁴ Barwick on the one hand points out that Theon, contrary to later writers of progymnasmata, never mentions fictitious narrative (*πλασματικὸν* or *δραματικόν*); on the other hand, and more importantly, he argues that the creative *invention* of narratives was no concern of rhetorical exercises. One could quibble about Barwick’s stark opposition of imitation of ancient models and autonomous invention. Theon’s whole programme of exercises is not about slavish imitation but about learning from a variety of models to form one’s own discourse. This emerges most clearly from his account of pedagogical methods (or accompanying exercises).¹⁵ Talking about paraphrase, for instance, Theon is aware that variation on models is a general characteristic of literary history: ‘all ancient writers seem to have used paraphrase in the best possible way, rephrasing not only their own writings but those of each other’ (62.23–5 Patillon-Bolognesi: πάντες οἱ παλαιοὶ φαίνονται τῇ παραφράσει ἄριστα κεχρημένοι, οὐ μόνον τὰ αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων μεταπλάσσοντες). What is more, the example of Philistus’ ‘paraphrasing’ of Thucydides shows that Theon, in theory, extends this idea of variation to macrostructural levels. It could be argued that Chariton’s literary competition with Thucydides pushes this progymnasmatic idea of paraphrase one step further. But this would neglect the practice of rhetorical exercises. While Theon sometimes rises to a wider theoretical horizon, it should be clear that we are talking about short, primarily linguistic and stylistic exercises in prose composition. They are not unlike those given to students of Greek and Latin today, at least in more demanding programmes. It even seems to me that these modern exercises, if simplified and stripped of general educational relevance, continue a more or less unbroken tradition of progymnasmata. Barwick is right

¹³ Schmid 1904, 482–3; cf. Schmid’s appendix to Rohde 1914³ (1876), 602–4.

¹⁴ Barwick 1928, esp. 284–7.

¹⁵ Cf. the introductory overview in 61.30–64.27 Patillon-Bolognesi; the text of the relevant chapters is only preserved in the Armenian translation of Theon’s work, 134.10–144.21 Patillon-Bolognesi.

in principle: there is no direct route from the school exercise to the novel. Or in other words, there is no predictable and institutional logic with which the ancient novels would have evolved from the schools of rhetoric. Wilhelm Schmid saw this problem and suggested the then newly found fragments of *Ninus* as a missing link between school exercises and the novel:¹⁶

Jetzt aber besitzen wir in dem Ninosroman das vermißte Mittelglied: er trägt noch die Eierschalen der Rhetorenschule in aller möglichen Deutlichkeit an sich; er ist für einen Schüleraufsatz zu lang, für einen Roman nach späteren Begriffen zu kurz, aber er ist ein echtes und gerechtes δραματικόν.

Schmid's analysis of *Ninus*, however, seems both biased towards 'rhetorical' elements and overconfident in our ability to reconstruct the original, allegedly short, length of the text from our scanty remains. Later, Giuseppe Giangrande thought he had found another missing link between Rohde's reference to progymnasmatic narrative and the surmised origin of the Greek novel in Hellenistic love poetry.¹⁷ Giangrande drew attention to newly found fragments of Hellenistic school paraphrases which demonstrated that prose exercises similar to the progymnasmata were much older than our fully extant texts. But not only does Giangrande ignore Barwick's criticism and the general gulf between school exercises and the novel; with the recent redating of the genre of the love novel to the imperial period, Giangrande's missing link has become altogether obsolete.

If rhetorical exercise in narrative played a role in the origin of the love novel, then this did not happen institutionally but in the mind of a creative individual. The missing link is the inventor. Rohde in actual fact implies an inventor, the 'Rhetor' to whom it occurred one day to enlarge on school narratives. But this figure remains so inconsequential in Rohde's equation that later scholars could easily forget about it. I think that Chariton's concern with 'narratives' indicates that rhetorical exercise in narrative was a factor in his poetics, and that this can be read as another sign of Chariton's inventing a new literary form. On the one hand, rhetorical exercise could provide Chariton with the very idea of 'narrative' (διήγημα),

¹⁶ Cf. Schmid 1904, 477–82; quotation *ibid.* 482.

¹⁷ Cf. Giangrande 1962.

referred to in *NAC* with striking frequency. On the other hand, Chariton could also have relied on basic rhetorical training for the idea of combining narratives into a larger, (pseudo-)historical work. This is suggested by a discussion of the utility of progymnasmatic exercises in Theon's preface (60.1–6 Patillon-Bolognesi):

Ὡς δὲ καὶ παντελῶς εἰσιν ὠφέλιμα τοῖς τὴν ῥητορικὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἄδηλον. Ὁ τε γὰρ καλῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως διήγησιν καὶ μῦθον ἀπαγγέλλας καλῶς καὶ ἱστορίαν συνθήσει, καὶ τὸ ἰδίως ἐν ταῖς ὑποθέσεσι καλούμενον διήγημα (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο τί ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἢ σύστημα διηγήσεων)...

There is no secret about how these exercises are useful to those acquiring the faculty of rhetoric. One who has expressed a narration and a fable in a fine and varied way will also compose a history well and what is specifically called 'narrative' in hypotheses. Historical writing is nothing other than a combination of narrations...

Following Kennedy's lead, from this point on I always bring out the terminological distinction between *διήγησις* and *διήγημα* by using the translations 'narration' and 'narrative'. Compared with other technical writing on literary narrative, Theon's usage of *διήγησις* and *διήγημα* in this passage is confusing. Usually the relation of the two words is inverse: since Aristotle (*Rh* 1416b.16–1417b20), *διήγησις* refers to 'narration' as part of a speech (hypothesis), while the form *διήγημα*, not attested until the Hellenistic period, becomes more and more common for historical narrative or the rhetorical exercise in narrative—which is itself modelled on historical narrative.¹⁸ This is the terminology of the later progymnasmata, and Theon himself entitles his relevant chapter 'On Narrative' (*Περὶ Διηγέματος*). In the text of the chapter, he first speaks of *διήγησις*, but when he refers to exemplary narratives from Herodotus and Thucydides, he calls them *διηγήματα*. That *διήγημα* is the more usual term for literary narrative is confirmed by Chariton, but equally by the general usage of the novelists, who regularly use *διήγημα* when speaking of narrative. Only Heliodorus makes considerable use of *διήγησις*, but his eight occurrences of this term are still outnumbered by the fourteen of *διήγημα*. More importantly, *διήγησις* in Heliodorus only occurs in specific contexts where the word refers to the *process* of narration

¹⁸ Cf. Schissel von Fleschenberg 1913, 1–5; Kennedy 2003, 4 n. 10; Nicolaus, *Prog.* p. 11 Felten.

rather than to narrative in the sense of 'episode' or 'adventure'.¹⁹ Perhaps Theon's sometimes interchangeable use of διήγημα and διήγησις reflects an early stage of the progymnastic tradition, when the later form διήγημα was not yet firmly established as the normal term for historical narrative. Or it is simply motivated by a stylistic variation of terms. Not all rhetors seem to make this terminological difference: the second-to-third century Anonymous Seguerianus, discussed below, refers διήγησις equally to judicial 'narration' and literary 'narrative'. Still, we can note that Theon's reference to history as a 'system of narrations' (σύστημα διηγήσεων) would in a more commonly found terminology amount to a 'system of narratives' (σύστημα διηγημάτων).²⁰ Chariton could well have conceived of his *Narratives about Callirhoe* (Τὰ περὶ Καλλιρόην διηγήματα) as such a 'system of narratives', a point to which I return below in my discussion of the title of our novel.

To conclude: Chariton was most probably not influenced in any *specific* sense by the rhetorical understanding of literary narrative. However, he could have picked up for one thing on the *abstract* sense of 'narrative' (διήγημα) as a technical unit; for another thing on the idea of combining episodic narratives into a 'history'. In addition, he could have been led to historiographic authors in general and to Thucydides in particular by the predominance of these authors in rhetorical exercises in narrative. This might have encouraged him to compete with these models.

(ii) Excursus: Literary narrative 'concerned with persons'

There remains the peculiar issue of the narrative 'concerned with persons'. After their description of three subspecies of literary narrative 'concerned with events', the *Rhetoric to Herennius* and Cicero go on to add a second species of narrative which stands on its own and is not divided into further subspecies. Again, I quote Cicero because he illustrates the classification with an example. The text here begins exactly where I broke it off above (*Inv.* 1.19.27):

¹⁹ Cf. below, 231–3.

²⁰ Cf. Schissel von Fleschenberg 1913, 4–5.

illa autem narratio, quae versatur in personis, eiusmodi est, ut in ea simul cum rebus ipsis personarum sermones et animi perspicui possint, hoc modo: 'Venit ad me saepe clam[ita]ns: "Quid agis, Micio? Cur perdis adolescentem nobis? cur amat? Cur potat? cur tu his rebus sumptum suggeris, Vestitu nimio indulges? nimium ineptus es." Nimium ipse est durus praeter aequumque et bonum'. hoc in genere narrationis multa debet inesse festiuitas, confecta ex rerum varietate, animorum dissimilitudine, gravitate, lenitate, spe, metu, suspitione, desiderio, dissimulatione, errore, misericordia, fortunae commutatione, insperato incommodo, subita laetitia, iucundo exitu rerum.

But the form of narrative which is concerned with persons is of such a sort that in it can be seen not only events but also the conversation and mental attitude of the characters. For example: 'He comes to me perpetually, crying "What are you about, Micio? Why are you ruining our boy? Why this licence? Why these drinking parties? Why do you give him huge sums of money for such a life and let him spend so much at the tailor's? It's extremely silly of you." He himself is too harsh—beyond reason and sense.' [Ter. *Ad.* 60–4]. This form of narrative should possess great vivacity, resulting from a variety of materials, contrast of characters, severity, gentleness, hope, fear, suspicion, desire, dissimulation, delusion, pity, sudden change of fortune, unexpected disaster, sudden pleasure, a happy ending to the story.

This piece of theory caused a stir in German scholarship on the novel, after Georg Thiele read it as a hint at the existence of realistic Greek novels before Petronius.²¹ There is a late and odd echo of this debate when Lausberg in his handbook of literary rhetoric describes the narrative concerned with persons as 'psychological novel' (§290.3.b). Thiele's argument is based on a comparison with a passage from the so called Anonymous Seguerianus,²² named after Séguier, Marquis de St Brison, who discovered this work in 1838. In his rhetorical treatise, from the late second or early third century AD, the Anonymous Seguerianus touches among other things on narration (53–4):

Ἔστι δὲ τῶν διηγήσεων εἶδη ταῦτα· αἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰσιν ἀληθεῖς, αἱ δὲ πεπλασμέναι, καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ κριτῶν λεγόμεναι, αἱ δὲ καθ' ἑαντάς. καὶ τῶν καθ' ἑαντάς αἱ μὲν εἰσι βιωτικά, αἱ δὲ ἱστορικά, αἱ δὲ μυθικά, αἱ δὲ περιπετικά.

²¹ Thiele 1890; the main stages in the discussion during the following years are Bürger 1892a, Rohde 1893, Thiele 1893 in response, Schmid 1904, Reitzenstein 1906, 90–8, and Barwick 1928.

²² Text and translation follow Dilts and Kennedy 1997.

The species of narration are as follows: some of them are true, some fictitious; some are spoken to judges, some (are composed) for their own sake. Of those (composed) for their own sake, some are descriptions of life, some are historical, some mythical, some concern the vicissitudes of fortune.

Thiele takes what the Anonymous Seguerianus calls διήγησις βιωτική as an explanation of the narrative 'concerned with persons' in Cicero and the *Rhetoric to Herennius*. The variety of emotions described by these authors would then revolve around a 'lifelike' psychological portrayal of characters. The difficulties of this reading are many, from the generally different system of the Anonymous Seguerianus to the specific reading of βιωτικός. I do not believe that this has anything to do with realistic novels and refer readers to Barwick's detailed rejection.²³ In our context, it is more important to discuss a general implication of Thiele's thesis, that is whether or not the narrative 'concerned with persons' refers to novels at all, and to ideal novels in particular. In fact, the passage from Cicero above reads like keywords characterizing an ideal novel: variety of content, emotions, plotting, changes of fortune, a happy ending. If this description really referred to ideal novels, such novels would have been known by the common source of Cicero and the *Rhetoric to Herennius*, at the latest in the second or early first century BC. But all external arguments from literary history aside, two points tell against this idea. First, Cicero's example is from comedy in the vein of New Comedy, and everything in his account which appears to be novelistic is also characteristic of comedy. Comedy is, therefore, the more likely reference. Second, Cicero gives very similar descriptions in other contexts, which suggests that he ultimately thinks of a general pattern of writing rather than one particular genre: in his *Partitiones oratoriae*, he recommends, in a manner reminiscent of the narrative 'concerned with persons', *suavitas* ('sweetness', 'charm') for speeches to be persuasive (32):²⁴

Suavis autem narratio est quae habet admirationes, exspectationes, exitus inopinatos, interpositos motus animorum, colloquia personarum, dolores, iracundias, metus, laetities, cupiditates.

²³ Cf. Barwick 1928.

²⁴ Cf. Thiele 1890, 131 n. 3; Rohde 1893, 137; Thiele 1893, 406.

And a narration has the quality of charm when it comprises causes for surprise and suspense and unexpected issues, with an intermixture of human emotions, dialogues between people, and exhibitions of grief, rage, fear, joy, and desire.

Richard Reitzenstein called attention to another passage relevant to our context.²⁵ It comes from the notorious letter in which Cicero asks his friend Lucius Luceius to glorify the history of his consulate (*Fam.* 5.12.4–5):

multam etiam casus nostri varietatem tibi in scribendo suppeditabunt plenam cuiusdam voluptatis, quae vehementer animos hominum in legendo te scriptore tenere possit. nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris quam temporum varietates fortunaeque vicissitudines... viri saepe excellentis ancipites variique casus habent admirationem, exspectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem; si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus iucundissima lectionis voluptate.

Moreover, my experiences will give plenty of variety to your narrative, full of a certain kind of delectation to enthral the minds of those who read, when you are the writer. Nothing tends more to the reader's enjoyment than varieties of circumstance and vicissitudes of fortune... in the doubtful and various fortunes of an outstanding individual we often find surprise and suspense, joy and distress, hope and fear; and if they are rounded off by a notable conclusion, our minds as we read are filled with the liveliest gratification.

In addition to emotion and effect, we have here even the twists of fortune and the satisfying end which are redolent of the narrative 'concerned with persons'. Did Cicero want to be a novelistic hero? Hardly so. Luceius was known for his historiographic work, and the authors that Cicero points him to as potential models are historians, too (*Fam.* 5.12.2 and 7): Callisthenes, Timaeus, Polybius, Xenophon (*Agesilaus*), and Herodotus. What Cicero asks for is clearly a historiographic monograph on his role in the Catilinarian conspiracy. My conclusion from these examples is that the narrative 'concerned with persons' has nothing to do with the ideal novel, or with any novels for that matter. I cannot see the logic behind Reitzenstein's view that the theory of the narrative 'concerned with persons' is suited to a historical monograph, but the fact that Cicero exemplifies

²⁵ Cf. Reitzenstein 1906, 84–94.

it with a fictitious narrative (from comedy) would indicate that at this point he is thinking of a novel.²⁶ If we want to pin down the narrative 'concerned with persons' to particular literary genres, we may choose between New Comedy and historical monograph. More likely, however, the narrative 'concerned with persons' refers as a general *genus narrationis* to a dramatic style of narrative which focuses on persons and can equally be employed in comedy, history, and oratory.

3. CHARITON'S NARRATIVE

In this section I discuss all occurrences of διήγημα and a number of instances of διηγείσθαι in NAC.²⁷ The former term is more important than the latter because it carries the abstract idea of 'narrative' which we find in rhetorical theory. The use of the word διήγημα often seems to prompt occurrences of διηγείσθαι in the immediate context, which results in certain clusters of narratorial awareness. In all such cases I consider the whole cluster. There remain a comparatively small number of instances of διηγείσθαι which are too isolated and insignificant to be taken into account in this chapter.²⁸ As regards διηγήματα, it will be helpful to divide them into two groups: one in which the 'narrative' is uttered from the perspective of a character of the narrated world (iii); and one in which its origin is not clearly defined in that world (iv). Chances are that the latter group is more closely related to the author and his poetics. I start, however, from a likely occurrence of the term in the paratext of our novel (i), then go on to consider its first sentence (ii).

²⁶ Cf. Reitzenstein 1906, 94.

²⁷ διήγημα: 1.10.6; 2.5.9; 2.5.10; 2.9.3; 3.2.7; 3.4.1; 3.9.8; 4.3.5; 4.3.9; 4.6.1; 4.7.5; 4.7.7; 5.5.3; 5.6.9; 7.1.8; 8.1.14; 8.1.15; 8.1.17; 8.5.9; 8.7.3; 8.7.5; as the following discussion shows, the fact that the liminal books eight and four lead with six and five passages respectively is no coincidence; διηγείσθαι: 1.1.1; 1.13.7; 2.1.3 (twice); 2.2.6; 2.4.7; 2.5.8; 2.6.5; 2.9.5; 3.4.13; 3.9.2; 3.9.9; 3.9.11; 3.10.1; 3.10.2; 3.10.5; 4.1.11; 4.2.14; 4.2.15; 4.4.8; 4.6.2; 5.1.2; 5.5.1; 5.5.6; 7.2.4; 8.1.14; 8.1.17; 8.5.7; 8.5.10; 8.7.8; 8.7.9.

²⁸ These are: 1.13.7; 2.1.3; 2.2.6; 2.4.7; 2.6.5; 3.4.13; 3.9.2; 4.4.8; 4.6.2; 5.5.1; 5.5.6; 7.2.4.

(i) The title: *Narratives about Callirhoe*

There are different ways in which scholarship has referred to the title of Chariton's novel. For a long time, the form boy's name + girl's name, in English *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, was standard usage. This form of title is based on our thirteenth-century Florentine manuscript from the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana (Conventi Soppressi 627). In this manuscript the novel is called *Tà περὶ Χαίρεαν καὶ Καλλιρρόην*²⁹ ἐρωτικά διηγήματα, *Love Narratives about Chaereas and Callirhoe*. Over the past decades Karl Plepelits's suggestion that the title was simply *Callirhoe* has gained favour.³⁰ This form is based on the one hand on the last sentence of the novel: 'That is my story about Callirhoe' (8.8.16: τοσάδε περὶ Καλλιρόης συνέγραψα); on the other hand on Papyrus Michaelides 1, from the second to third centuries AD. This papyrus, edited only in 1955, preserves the end of book two and refers to it as *Χαρίτωνος Ἀφ[ροδισιέως] τῶν περὶ Κα[λλιρόην] διηγημ[ά]τω[ν λόγος β']*, 'Second book of the narratives of Chariton of Aphrodisias about Callirhoe'. However, both variants, *Chaereas and Callirhoe* as well as *Callirhoe*, ignore διηγήματα ('narratives'), the only noun apart from the name of Callirhoe which the manuscript and the papyrus have in common. Arguably scholars have seen this word as a 'filler' or as too technical to be used in a modern translation. Goold and Reardon, for instance, heed διηγήματα when they write the title in Greek, but otherwise refer to it just as *Callirhoe*.³¹ I do not think we should drop the word 'narratives' from the title since it was this technical aspect of narrative, too, which mattered to Chariton. Nor do I think that we should opt for a more informal translation like 'stories' or 'tales' because this would dilute the technical ring of διήγημα and obscure its provenance from rhetoric. Granted, Chariton's last sentence does not contain the word διηγήματα, but there is no reason to believe that this is a reference precisely to the title rather than the main subject. Much

²⁹ The manuscript has always *Καλλιρρόη*. Modern editors go along with the papyrus and prefer *Καλλιρόη*, cf. e.g. Reardon 2004a, p. v n. 1.

³⁰ Plepelits 1976, 28–9.

³¹ Goold 1995, 27: *Tà περὶ Καλλιρόην διηγήματα*; Reardon 2004a, 1: *Tà περὶ Καλλιρόην ἐρωτικά διηγήματα*; cf. Courtney 2001, 16: *τὰ περὶ (Χαίρεαν καὶ) Καλλιρόην (ἐρωτικά) διηγήματα*.

more relevant is Chariton's exceptionally frequent use of the term διήγημα throughout his novel, and the way he seems to conceive of his story as a string of διηγήματα (as will become clear in the course of my further discussion). I do not believe, therefore, what Tim Whitmarsh suggests,³² that διηγήματα in the Papyrus Michaelides is a later expansion of the title. I follow the papyrus and propose the form *Tὰ περὶ Καλλιρόην διηγήματα* (*Narratives about Callirhoe*). This is not trivial, but concerns a distinctive feature of Chariton's work: as far as our evidence goes, no other ideal novel, be it transmitted in manuscript or on papyrus, is entitled διήγημα or διηγήματα.³³ The fact that 'narratives' (διηγήματα) occur in the—surely more or less programmatic—title of Chariton's novel should make us aware of the significance of the very idea of narratives in his poetics.

It might be thought that Chariton writes one large narrative rather than a number of smaller narratives. Why does he use the plural διηγήματα in his title? This would only be a worry if we measured *Narratives about Callirhoe* using modern ideas of coherence and unity of narrative. At Chariton's time, extended prose fiction was usually perceived as a multitude of events and corresponding stories—witness pseudo-historiographic plural titles such as *Μιλησιακά* ('Milesian Tales'), *Satyrica* ('Satyr Tales'), *Tὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα* ('Incredible Things beyond Thule'), or *Ἐφεσιακά* ('Ephesian Tales'). Tomas Hägg has tentatively distinguished two lines of ancient novels, one more episodic and going by titles in -κά, another more coherent and entitled after the leading heroine (for which *Callirhoe* serves as an example).³⁴ With the title *Narratives about Callirhoe* this argument no longer works, at least not for the beginning of the ideal novel. If we think of Chariton as the inventor of this genre, the title *Narratives about Callirhoe* rather suggests that the author, in another attempt at self-definition, sought to attach himself to existing ideas of storytelling and narratives. Even considering that NAC is in fact a comparatively coherent story, it was only natural for Chariton to think of the whole in terms of its parts. Add to this that Chariton's technical understanding of storytelling is likely to have been influ-

³² Cf. Whitmarsh 2005, 598.

³³ Cf. the review of our evidence in Whitmarsh 2005.

³⁴ Cf. Hägg 2002b, 20–5.

enced by the many διηγήματα of rhetorical exercises and that he may have conceived of his novel as a 'system of narratives'.

There are two roughly contemporaneous collections of mythographic short stories entitled Διηγήσεις (*Narrations*). The terminology and concept of this genre is different, but the recourse to a basic rhetorical idea of 'narrating' is reminiscent of Chariton. The most significant example is the Διηγήσεις by Conon.³⁵ The date of this work is determined by its dedication to king Archelaus Philopatrius who ruled as a vassal of Rome over Cappadocia from 36 BC to AD 17. The place of composition, like everything else of the author's life, remains obscure, but an obvious guess would be to place Conon at Archelaus' court. This fits in with the fact that a relatively large number of his stories are set in Asia Minor. It has been reasonably suggested that Conon was a rhetor and that his 'narrations' are indebted to rhetorical exercise. Conon's use of διήγησις instead of the later predominant διήγημα would then be another indication of an unstable terminology in the earlier history of progymnasmata. However, my point concerning Chariton is that the latter could have been inspired by Conon's *Narrations* or similar works to create something larger and bolder, led by a rhetorical idea of 'narrating'; or, if we do not take for granted that Chariton knew Conon's *Narrations*, that they attest to another contemporaneous case of storytelling in prose in line with rhetorical exercise. While only some of Conon's stories have an erotic subject, (Ps.-)Plutarch's five Ἐρωτικάι Διηγήσεις (*Love Narrations*) revolve around love and provide another point of reference for our title. Prominent recent scholars have defended Plutarch's authorship of these stories on grounds of language and style.³⁶ The *Love Narrations* would then have been written not much later than Chariton's *NAC*, in the second half of the first or the early second century AD. Perhaps it should also be mentioned in this context that the ancient prose summaries of Callimachus' poems, fragmentarily preserved in a papyrus of c. AD 100 (*P. Mil. Vogl.* I 18), are entitled Διηγήσεις (*Narrations*) and could well have been written in the time of Conon or Plutarch. Finally, I would like to touch on Parthenius' Ἐρωτικά παθήματα (*Sufferings of*

³⁵ Cf. Brown 2002.

³⁶ Cf. Giangrande 1991; Ruiz Montero 2003*d*.

Love). Judging from their dedication to the Roman poet Gallus, they were written in the third quarter of the first century BC. Parthenius' collection of erotic prose tales does not have the elements of 'narrative' or 'narration' in its title, but otherwise follows the same format as the works of Conon and (Ps.)-Plutarch. And while the latter provide a parallel for Chariton's title, the title of Parthenius's collection might be echoed in the phrase *πάθος ἐρωτικόν* ('love suffering') in Chariton's first sentence – which brings me to my next section.³⁷

(ii) The first sentence: historiography as fiction

Here and in my further discussion, I always translate *διήγημα* and *διηγείσθαι* in the novelists as 'narrative' and 'to narrate'. As with 'novelty' in the preceding chapter, this terminological fixation is meant to bring out the technical sense of these words and to reflect the same consistent use of them in the Greek text. Chariton's first sentence programmatically introduces his subject together with his technique of 'narrating' (1.1.1):³⁸

Χαρίτων Ἀφροδισιεύς, Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ ῥήτορος ὑπογραφεύς, πάθος ἐρωτικόν ἐν Συρακούσαις γενόμενον διηγέσσομαι.

My name is Chariton, of Aphrodisias, and I am clerk to the attorney Athenagoras. I am going to narrate to you a love story that took place in Syracuse.

It is generally agreed that Chariton here plays the erotic content of his story (*πάθος ἐρωτικόν*) off against a traditional historiographic pose.³⁹ A preamble in the form author's name + subject matter

³⁷ Cf. Lightfoot 1999 for parallels between Parthenius and Conon (227–31) and for mythographic storytelling as a potential inspiration to novelists (256–63), especially regarding shared characteristics of mythographic and novelistic 'suffering in love' (*πάθος ἐρωτικόν*) (259–61). Lightfoot, however, does not discuss progymnasmata nor the terms *διήγημα* and *διήγησις*.

³⁸ Cf. Chariton's reference to his narrating at the beginning of the second half of NAC: '... this has all been set out in the story so far. Now I shall narrate what happened next' (5.1.2: ... ταῦτα ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς νῦν διηγέσσομαι).

³⁹ On Chariton's use of history cf. e.g. Bartsch 1934; Zimmermann 1961; Hägg 1987; Hunter 1994; Ramelli 2000.

was current in historiography until Thucydides and most notably used by the latter and Herodotus: 'What Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by enquiry is here set forth...' (Hdt. *praef.*: Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνασσεὸς ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε...); 'Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war waged by the Peloponnesians and the Athenians against one another...' (Thuc. 1.1.1: Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων...). Contrary to received wisdom, however, I think that Chariton's use of the verb διηγῆσθαι ('I shall narrate') in this prominent position does not evoke (classical) historiography but keeps a calculated distance from it. Ever since D'Orville's commentary in his *editio princeps*, it has been a topos of Chariton scholarship that διηγῆσθαι in Ch. 1.1.1 establishes a link with historiography because διηγείσθαι ('to narrate') would be what historiographers do.⁴⁰ If not flatly wrong, this is at least misleading. In fact, the words διήγημα, διήγησις, and διηγείσθαι are extremely rare in the classical historians—arguably Chariton's most significant historiographic models. Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon do not use the terms διήγημα or διήγησις at all. Herodotus never has διηγείσθαι, Thucydides once. Only with Xenophon do we see a more frequent use of διηγείσθαι, but in every single work he comes out with far fewer occurrences than Chariton. It is precisely Xenophon's most 'novelistic' work, the *Cyropaedia*, which reaches the highest figure (14). Later historical works which often use διηγείσθαι, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities*, have a distinctly rhetorical character.⁴¹ They may be influenced by a rhetorical conception of narrative as seen in the progymnasmata, where history falls within the category of διήγημα. It cannot be said, therefore, that Chariton's programmatic διηγῆσθαι refers in any straightforward sense to historiography. Rather, it points to previous kinds of prose fiction, or to rhetorical refractions of historiography, or to both. Curiously, this conclusion is corroborated by the few examples of the 'historical' use of διηγείσθαι which D'Orville provides. Among them we find Conon's and Ps.-Plutarch's mythological Διηγῆσεις. D'Orville's sole example from a real historian is the single instance of

⁴⁰ Cf. D'Orville 1783² (1750), 202: 'διηγῆσθαι est historicorum'; furthermore e.g. Bartsch 1934, 3; Zimmermann 1961, 330; Plepeltis 1976, 10; Luginbill 2000, 1 n. 2.

⁴¹ Cf. above, 199.

διηγείσθαι in Thucydides, which is worth considering in greater detail. The passage occurs in Thucydides' excursus on the Peisistratids, placed in the wider context of the account of the Sicilian expedition. Strikingly, however, the narrower context is a love affair, that of the tyrannicides Aristogeiton and Harmodius. This is Thucydides' introduction to it (6.54):

Τὸ γὰρ Ἀριστογείτονος καὶ Ἀρμοδίου τόλμημα δι' ἐρωτικὴν ξυντυχίαν ἐπεχειρήθη, ἣν ἐγὼ ἐπὶ πλέον διηγησάμενος...

Now the daring deed of Aristogeiton and Harmodius was undertaken on account of a love affair, and by narrating this at some length...

The erotic motivation of this episode is picked up on at the end of the excursus, where Thucydides reiterates that the plot of Aristogeiton and Harmodius was conceived 'for grief of love' (6.59: δι' ἐρωτικὴν λύπην). The fact that this story is the only place where Thucydides explicitly 'narrates' may have suggested to Chariton that love and narrative go together. Perhaps one could even go as far as to suspect that Chariton inverted the homosexual love affair in Thucydides in his 'ideal' heterosexual *Narratives about Callirhoe*. The relative absence of homosexuality in the ideal novel has long been recognized as a characteristic of the genre. Recently, M. Brioso Sánchez has even suggested a link between the strong absence of homosexuality in Chariton and his early date in a time when the ideal conception was still relatively pure, as opposed to the later toying with homosexuality in secondary stories and discourses of Xenophon of Ephesus and Achilles Tatius.⁴²

With respect to Chariton's reference to 'narrating' in his first sentence, it should be noted that not even later historiographers, who make more frequent use of the word διηγείσθαι, place it at the very beginning of their works. The closest counterpart seems to be Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*: 'Accordingly, what we have found out or think we know concerning him we shall now endeavour to narrate' (1.1.6: ὅσα οὖν καὶ ἐπυθόμεθα καὶ ᾗσθησθαι δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα πειρασόμεθα διηγῆσασθαι). This, however, comes at the end of a longer introduction. The reluctance to start a 'real' historical report by 'narrating' may have to do with the association of 'narrative' with

⁴² Cf. e.g. Effe 1987; Brioso Sánchez 2003, esp. 230–1; more generally Brioso Sánchez 1999.

the account of facts rather than the facts themselves. This association is exploited in Lucian's parodic *True Narratives* (*Ἀληθῆ διηγήματα*), which as early as in its title draws attention to the entirely constructed character of its 'truth'.⁴³ A similar idea is already palpable in an emphatically serious historian like Polybius, who neatly separates factual history from 'idle narrative' (1.14.6):⁴⁴

ὥσπερ γὰρ ζῶον τῶν ὄψεων ἀφαιρεθείσων ἀκρειοῦται τὸ ὅλον, οὕτως ἐξ ἱστορίας ἀνααιρεθείσης τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ καταλειπόμενον αὐτῆς ἀνωφελὲς γίνεται διήγημα.

For just as a living creature which has lost its eyesight is wholly incapacitated, so if history is stripped of her truth all that is left is but an idle narrative.

Bruno Lavagnini tentatively read this passage as a pointed allusion to the genre of the Greek novel—which would already have existed in the second century BC.⁴⁵ It is more likely, however, that Polybius refers to the assorted embroideries of Hellenistic historiography. It may be argued that the latter accounts for Chariton's *διηγῆσομαι* and that in this, Hellenistic, sense his 'narrating' is historiographic after all. Even so, Polybius' passage shows that Chariton's *διηγῆσομαι* would hardly have come across as the mark of a hard-headed historiographer. Rather, it was meant to contrast together with the subject matter of a *πάθος ἐρωτικόν* with the pose of the classical writers of history. It implies that the work to follow revolves around narratives rather than historical facts.

(iii) Narratives related by characters

In all our ideal novels, many characters tell narratives. Not as many, however, refer to their narratives as 'narratives' (*διηγήματα*). Chariton's characters have a particular liking for this term, which is probably instilled by the preoccupation of their author with the

⁴³ An allusion to Chariton seems possible, especially in the light of another potential reference to him at the very end of Lucian's work, cf. above, ch. 5, 185 with n. 27.

⁴⁴ Cf. similarly Polyb. 12.12.3; further denunciations of *διήγημα* as unreliable hearsay can be found at 4.39.11 and 12.28a.6.

⁴⁵ Cf. Lavagnini 1950, vii.

very idea of 'narratives'. However, while the occurrences of διήγημα gathered here confirm the general significance of this abstract idea in Chariton's writing, they are firmly rooted in the narrated world. For this reason, they are not as likely to reflect the poetics of the author to the same extent as the anonymous narratives collected in (iv) do. A character's narrative can only provide a useful hint at the author's narrative if there are related metaliterary clues in the context.

In the following, I first give a summary of the relevant passages in which I include instances of διηγείσθαι if they seem to form 'clusters' according to the principles explained at the beginning of this section. Then I divide the passages into three groups. I argue against a metaliterary reading of the first group, but find significant relations between the other groups and Chariton's *Narratives about Callirhoe*.

a) Overview of passages

1.10.6: The pirates discuss what to do with Callirhoe. One of them suggests selling her. Another opposes the idea with the argument that a 'narrative' can easily be made up about gold and silver (ἐξεστὶν ἐπὶ τούτοις πλάσασθαι τι διήγημα), but persons are difficult to hide.

2.5.9: Callirhoe does not want to tell 'narratives that people who do not know the situation will not believe' (οὐ θέλω... λέγειν διηγήματα ἄπιστα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν). Compare 2.5.8: Dionysius asks Callirhoe to narrate about herself (διήγησαί μοι, Καλλιρόη, τὰ σεαυτῆς).

2.5.10 Dionysius assures Callirhoe that even a splendid narrative would not compare to her presence (πάν ἐστὶ σου μικρότερον λαμπρὸν διήγημα).

3.9.8: Phocas tells Dionysius the story of the arrival of Chaereas and Polycharmus at Miletus and their presumed death; he announces this to Dionysius as narratives about very good events (μεγάλων γὰρ ἀγαθῶν φέρω σοι διηγήματα). Compare 3.9.9: Dionysius is anxious to listen and requests Phocas to narrate at once ('μὴ βράδυνε... ἀλλ' ἤδη διηγοῦ'); 3.9.11: after the bad news of the arrival of Chaereas and Polycharmus, Phocas goes on to narrate (διηγείτο) the second part; 3.10.1: Dionysius tells Phocas to narrate (διηγείσθαι) a coloured version of this story in public; 3.10.2: Dionysius interrogates the countryfolk in order for them to narrate all they know (διηγοῦντο πάντες ἃ ᾗδεσαν) and for Callirhoe to listen to it.

4.3.5: The captured Polycharmus tells Mithridates the stories of himself, Callirhoe, and Chaereas. His narrative is followed by tears and groans (δάκρυα καὶ

στεναγμός ἐπηκολούθησε τῷ διηγήματι). It is preceded by Mithridates' request for Polycharmus to narrate (διηγείσθαι) in 4.2.14 and 4.2.15.

4.3.9: Chaereas is shocked at the news about Callirhoe's marriage to Dionysius. He would prefer to be put on the cross to living on after this narrative (ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ διηγήματι).

5.6.9: Dionysius concludes the narrative of his speech in the Babylonian court (Τὸ μὲν διήγημα εἶρηκα τοῦ πράγματος).⁴⁶

8.1.14: The first night which sees Chaereas and Callirhoe reunited is full of narratives, tears, and kisses (πόσων διηγημάτων μεστή, πόσων δὲ δακρύων ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλημάτων). Callirhoe starts to narrate (διηγείσθαι). Compare by way of contrast 3.10.5: Callirhoe loses her hope of narrating to Chaereas what she has suffered on his account (διηγήσομαι αὐτῷ πόσα πέπονθα δι' ἐκείνον).

8.1.15: Chaereas is jealous of Dionysius, but comforted by Callirhoe's narrative about the child (παρηγόρησε δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ περὶ τοῦ τέκνου διήγημα).

8.1.17: Chaereas narrates (διηγήσατο) his military exploits to Callirhoe. Then it is enough of tears and narratives (ἄλλης ἦν δακρύων καὶ διηγημάτων) and they sleep with each other.

8.5.9: Enough of Statira's and Artaxerxes' mutual narratives (ἄλλης ἦν τῶν διηγημάτων). Compare 8.5.7: Statira narrates (διηγείτο) the events in Aradus and Cyprus to Artaxerxes; 8.5.10: Artaxerxes narrates everything to Dionysius (διηγήσατο αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπαντα τὰ γεγενημένα).

8.7.3: Chaereas tells all the narratives of the journey to the Syracusans (πάντα τὰ τῆς ἀποδημίας διηγήματα).

8.7.5: Hermocrates encourages Chaereas to focus on those parts which the people do not know yet—they are familiar with the first parts of the narratives (πρῶτα τῶν διηγημάτων). Compare 8.7.8: Hermocrates asks Chaereas to narrate (διήγησαι) the story after he sailed off from Syracuse.

b) Biased narratives

A few of our examples (1.10.6; 2.5.9; cf. 3.10.1) refer to the manipulation of narratives. Richard Hunter has suggested that these passages imply a sophisticated play with fictionality:⁴⁷

It is worth noting that διηγήματα is used for both 'true tales in the context of the novel' (3.2.7, 3.4.1, 4.3.5) and 'false tales in the context of the novel'

⁴⁶ This passage may be compared with Theon's use of διήγημα (instead of the more usual διήγησις) for narrative as part of a courtroom speech.

⁴⁷ Hunter 1994, 1066–7 n. 60. Note that Ch. 2.4.7 (μῦθόν μοι διηγῆ) is not an occurrence of διήγημα.

(1.10.6, 2.4.7, 2.5.9 etc.); this is, of course, not surprising, but there are good reasons to assume that Chariton has exploited this doubleness.

In my view, this reading neglects the firm setting of the relevant *διηγήματα* in the narrated world. Their bias is perfectly motivated by the intentions of the narrating characters. When, for instance, the pirate at 1.10.6 considers that the robbery of gold and silver can be covered up with a narrative, this does not tell us anything about the fictionality of *Narratives about Callirhoe*. It merely reflects on the character of the pirate. What is more, whenever *διηγήματα* are not clearly set in the narrated world—as in the examples in (iv) below—they are always true; or rather, a question about truth status and fictionality never arises. Chariton is certainly aware of the difference between historiography and fiction, and he exploits the possibilities of fictional narrative in a practical way. But he does not seem to be interested in questioning the truth status of his narratives. Such questions are typical of more aloof authors like Achilles Tatius,⁴⁸ not to speak of outright parodies of fiction as in Lucian's *True Narratives*. Chariton's take on fiction appears to be one of willing suspension of disbelief. If truth status is anything to Chariton, then the distinction of his *διηγήματα* from a more unreal *μῦθος* indicates that NAC is in a way truer than traditional fiction.⁴⁹

c) *Emotional impact of narratives*

A number of the above *διηγήματα* make a strong emotional impact on their audience, and this seems to conform with Chariton's own narratives. The most programmatic case is 3.9.8, relating to the episode of Chaereas' and Polycharmus' arrival at Miletus, the burning of their ship, and their reported death. Phocas, the steward of Dionysius' country estate, introduces his 'narratives' about these events in the following words:

εἰ δὲ σκυθρωπότερά ἐστιν αὐτῶν τὰ πρῶτα, διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν ἀγωνιάσης μηδὲ λυπηθῆς, ἀλλὰ περίμεινον, ἕως οὗ πάντα ἀκούσης· χρηστὸν γὰρ ἔχει σοι τὸ τέλος.

⁴⁸ Cf. e.g. the adaptation of the motif of Rumour in Chariton and Achilles Tatius, below, ch. 7, 256–8.

⁴⁹ For Chariton's idea of *μῦθος* cf. above, ch. 5, 170–2.

the beginning may sound rather grim, but don't let that worry you or distress you; wait till you've heard the whole story—you'll find it has a happy ending.

Phocas here provides a poetics of tragicomedy in miniature, which would not be so exceptional if it were not highly reminiscent of Chariton's own declaration of his poetics in 8.1.4. This parallel suggests that at 3.9.8 Chariton had his larger plan for *NAC* in mind and experimented with the envisaged emotional reception of his story as well as with a contrast of happy endings. For the ending here is happy only for the secondary character Dionysius, not for Chaereas and Callirhoe. Dionysius, however, experiences Phocas' narrative in very much the same way as Chariton's ideal readers would experience reading *NAC*: he listens anxiously to Phocas' narrative (3.9.9); he faints at the tragic part of the story, and is overcome with joy and relief at the happy ending.

In tune with the pervasive programme of tragicomedy, further *διηγήματα* of books one to seven result in tears (2.5.12: Dionysius weeps; 4.3.5: Mithridates' tears and groans) and distress (4.3.9: Chaereas cannot endure the news), while book eight reiterates a large number of narratives and emotions on a lighter note.

d) Revising narratives

With Chariton's programmatic remarks in 8.1.4 and the subsequent reunion of the lovers, the poetics of tragicomedy changes into the comic mode. This prompts a host of recapitulations in which the tragic stories of books one to seven are recounted, re-experienced, and 'cleansed' of their saddening effects. This process of revising is also the reason why book eight has the highest number of occurrences, divided among books, with six examples. I have discussed the theory of this revision in chapter four and here only show how the examples from the passages quoted above fall into place.⁵⁰

The tears during the mutual narratives of Chaereas and Callirhoe in the first night after the long separation are tears of joy (8.1.14; 8.1.17). Chaereas is glad to hear 'the narrative of the child' (8.1.15).

⁵⁰ Cf. above, ch. 4, 130–7.

In the background of this canvas, poetic justice is meted out to the secondary characters (cf. the parallel phrase ἄλυσ... διηγημάτων in 8.1.17 and 8.5.9): on reading the letter which accompanies Statira's narrative, Artaxerxes is 'filled with countless emotions' (8.5.8: *μυρίων παθῶν ἐπληροῦτο*), none of them very pleasant. His narrating the story to Dionysius leaves the latter thunderstruck and dejected (8.5.10–15), very much in contrast to the 'happy ending' for him in 3.9.8. The most extensive and remarkable example of revising narratives at the end, however, is Chaereas' recounting of all the narratives about himself and Callirhoe—which virtually amounts to *Narratives about Callirhoe*—to a Syracusan crowd which undergoes all the tensions and emotions once more, only to end up with the now really final happy ending (8.7.1–8.8.11).

(iv) Anonymous Narratives

In this section, I discuss all passages in which the source of διηγήματα is not clearly identified within the narrated world. These narratives, wide open to authorial intrusions, are the most interesting ones from a metaliterary point of view: in a general sense, they confirm Chariton's conception of *Narratives about Callirhoe* as a string of narratives; in a specific sense they mark out the major episodes of the work, about Callirhoe's child, the apparent death and the tomb robbery, the trial in Babylon, and the Egyptian rebellion. Among the ideal novelists, these anonymous narratives are characteristic only of Chariton, for with a single exception in Xenophon of Ephesus (which might be an imitation of Chariton) no other novelist has free-floating διηγήματα.

The first example is 2.9.3, where Callirhoe is pondering the future of her unborn child. First, she considers abortion lest it be born into slavery. Callirhoe also associates certain 'narratives' about her person with this idea:

ἀπιθι ἐλεύθερος, ἀπαθῆς κακῶν. μηδὲν ἀκούσης τῶν περὶ τῆς μητρὸς διηγημάτων.

Depart in freedom, while no harm has befallen you, without hearing the narratives about your mother!

On the one hand, Callirhoe could refer to unspecified people who would gossip about her and her child. On the other hand, the ‘narratives about the mother’ are a part of *Narratives about Callirhoe*, and Chariton likes to think about the episode of Callirhoe’s child as a particular achievement of his.⁵¹ What is more, as I hope to demonstrate in my chapter on Rumour, gossip in Chariton is something positive if viewed from the authorial perspective, as it brings the story to its audience and impresses it. What we have at 2.9.3, then, is likely to be a self-conscious reference to a distinct part of *NAC*. A similar reference to Callirhoe’s story occurs soon afterwards in connection with the verb *διηγείσθαι*. Here Callirhoe imagines a more upbeat scenario in which her child (being a son) would resemble his father, sail back to Sicily and narrate the story of his mother: ‘You will go and find your father and your grandfather and narrate to them your mother’s story!’ (2.9.5: *ζητήσεις πατέρα καὶ πάππον, καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῖς διηγῆσθαι*). This is not an anonymous story in my definition, but comes close to that since it is told by an unborn child in a future beyond *NAC*.

In 3.2.7, Dionysius imagines how Rumour is going to announce Callirhoe’s ‘novel narrative’ (*τὸ καινὸν διήγημα*) in Syracuse. Not much later, at 3.4.1, this narrative arrives as exactly that, a *καινὸν διήγημα*, and causes great astonishment among the internal audience. I have discussed these passages in chapter five in the context of Chariton’s awareness of literary novelty. Here I only add that Chariton is equally aware that the episode of *Scheintod* and tomb robbery, to which the phrase *καινὸν διήγημα* refers, is a distinct ‘narrative’ in the whole of *Narratives about Callirhoe*.

A cluster of *διηγήματα*, telling of Callirhoe and fair women in general, occurs at the end of book four and is responsible for the second highest figure for occurrences within a single book (five, with three anonymous narratives and two by characters). Again, I have outlined in chapter five the general metaliterary significance of this juncture in the middle of the novel. The specific passages which

⁵¹ Cf. above, ch. 5, 167; below, ch. 8, 275–7; Ch. 8.1.15, Chaereas’ satisfaction about hearing ‘the narrative about the child’ (*τὸ περὶ τοῦ τέκνου διήγημα*) might be relevant too, given the potentially metaliterary context in which Callirhoe is embarrassed about ‘Miletus’ (cf. above, ch. 4, 149).

remain to be discussed here add to the impression of a critical moment in Chariton's poetics. In 4.6.1, Dionysius has intercepted Chaereas' letter to Callirhoe and takes measures to control the flow of information:

Μεθ' ἡμέραν οὖν τήρησιν ἐποιεῖτο τῆς γυναικὸς ἀκριβεστέραν, ἵνα μή τις αὐτῇ προσέλθῃ μηδὲ ἀπαγγείλῃ τι τῶν ἐν Καρία διηγημάτων...

The next day he kept his wife under surveillance, to make sure no one approached her or told her anything of the narratives in Caria.

The 'narratives in Caria' referred to in this passage may just be potential gossip about Callirhoe and Chaereas which circulates in Caria or at Mithridates' estate. But nowhere is it explained how the adventures of Chaereas in Caria would have spread and become a rumour. We do know, however, that Chariton has just narrated these adventures (4.2–4), and we also know that he comes from Caria. It would be a nice pun if, in a second layer of meaning, he alluded here to an episode of his work as 'Carian narratives', particularly considering that this amounts to a kind of *sphragis* at the end of the first part of his novel.

If this passage looks back at the first part, a corresponding one in 4.7.5 looks forward to the second part of NAC: after Rumour has announced 'to all the world' (πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις) that the celebrated Callirhoe is on her way to Babylon, Chariton remarks that '[t]he narrative of the trial increased her fame still further' (ἐνδοξοτέραν αὐτὴν ἐποίει καὶ τὸ τῆς δίκης διήγημα). What 'narrative of the trial'? Chariton might refer to unknown people who line the road to Babylon and talk about the upcoming trial. But while this plain reading is possible, the sweeping claim made here suggests an additional sense at a metaliterary level. At this point in the middle of the novel, Chariton seems to allude to the second part of his story which opens with the trial in Babylon and, Chariton might hope, increases the fame of *Narratives about Callirhoe* still further. This metaliterary reading is reinforced by 4.7.6–7, where Dionysius is apprehensive about losing Callirhoe:

ἀνὴρ γὰρ πεπαιδευμένος ἐνεθυμείτο ὅτι φιλόκαινός ἐστιν ὁ Ἔρως· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τόξα καὶ πῦρ ποιηταί τε καὶ πλάσται περιτεθείκασιν αὐτῷ, τὰ κουφότατα καὶ στήναι μὴ θέλοντα. μνήμη δὲ ἐλάμβανεν αὐτὸν παλαιῶν διηγημάτων, ὅσαι μεταβολαὶ γεγόνασι τῶν καλῶν γυναικῶν.

... for he was an educated man and was aware how inconstant Love is—that is why poets and sculptors depict him with bows and arrows and associate him with fire, the most insubstantial, mutable of all things. He began to recollect ancient narratives and all the changes that had come over their beautiful women.

What ‘ancient narratives’? Dionysius here once more takes an authorial point of view. The location of the passage at the very end of book four, the ‘novelty-loving’ Eros,⁵² the general nature of the reflections, the comparison with poets and other artists: all this suggests that Chariton here inspires thoughts and words. The ‘ancient narratives’, then, most likely refer to previous literature telling of disputes over a beautiful woman. Considering the recurrent description of Callirhoe as a new Helen, an obvious guess is the *Iliad* or another adaptation of the Trojan myth. Perhaps Apollonius’ *Argonautica* and Virgil’s *Aeneid* (the latter as a sequel to the *Iliad* and ultimately to the rape of Helen), discussed in chapter four as parallels for a programmatic appearance of a love deity in the middle of a work, would also qualify for our ‘ancient narratives’. However, the literary perspective given with the mention of such narratives underscores the significance of the end of book four in Chariton’s poetics and encourages the reading of the phrase ‘narratives of the trial’ as a preview of a literary future, perhaps matching the literary past of Homer and his followers.

The last two anonymous *διηγήματα* relate to the major episodes of books five to seven, the trial in Babylon and Chaereas’ warfare in Egypt. The first instance is introduced by Dionysius’ narrating (5.5.1: *ἕκαστα διηγούμενος*) to Callirhoe the true circumstances of her presence in Babylon. This is followed by Callirhoe’s tears and her recapitulation of all the sad things that happened to her since her apparent death. She sums up with an accusation of Tyche (5.5.3):

τότε μου τὴν διαβολὴν ἐπόμπευσας τάφῳ, νῦν δὲ βασιλικῷ δικαστηρίῳ.
διήγημα καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης γέγονα.

The first time, your slander led me to the tomb; now it brings me to the royal court of justice! I have become a narrative in Asia and Europe.

⁵² See above, ch. 5, 185–6.

Callirhoe might refer to people from Asia and Europe who belong to the narrated world and talk about her. But her abstract phrasing, her recapitulation of events from books one to four, and the location of the passage before the start of the trial in Babylon strongly suggest that the author here singles out defining episodes of part one (*Scheintod*) and two (Babylonian trial) of *NAC*. And indeed, in *Narratives about Callirhoe*, Callirhoe becomes precisely a narrative that is set in Europe and Asia. The literary self-reference might even extend to the location of the author: after all, from Aphrodisias the circulation of *NAC* could spread in a very real sense in both (Hellenized) Asia and Europe.

The last anonymous διήγημα refers to the episode of the Egyptian rebellion. It can be found exactly at the point where Polycharmus convinces Chaereas that he should enter the war and join the Egyptian king against Artaxerxes (7.1.8):

καλὸν γὰρ λυπήσαντας αὐτὸν ἔργῳ ποιῆσαι μετανοεῖν, ἔνδοξον καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον ἔσομένοις διήγημα καταλείποντας ὅτι δύο Ἑλληνες ἀδικηθέντες ἀντελύπησαν τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα καὶ ἀπέθανον ὡς ἄνδρες.

It would be a noble thing to do him so much harm that he really regrets his actions, and to leave behind for future generations a glorious narrative of how two Greeks who were unjustly treated paid out the Great King by the suffering they caused him and died like men.

Again this is a critical moment in *NAC*, at the very beginning of Chaereas' exploits as a military commander. That the narrative of these events does not belong to the narrated world is manifest from this look forward into the future. The 'narrative about the two Greeks' is something for a later audience to listen to and read of. This hope for glory in a future (oral or literary) tradition is apparently modelled on a number of passages from Homer, in which various heroes reflect on their *Nachleben* in later generations (ἔσσομένοισι). The context of revenge and fearless defiance of death is particularly reminiscent of *Odyssey* 24.432–7 where Eupheithes calls upon the relatives of the slaughtered suitors to go after Odysseus, not least because of the future memory of them.⁵³ Yet the literary dimen-

⁵³ This passage occurs soon after the flight of Rumour upon the killing of the suitors (*Od.* 24.413–16), a scene most probably known and in some form adapted by Chariton, as I argue below in ch. 8. Intriguingly, in both cases the role of the villainous party in Homer is given to the romantic heroes in Chariton.

sion of the heroic *Nachleben* is best articulated in two other passages: in *Iliad* 6.357–8 Helen reflects that Zeus has sent an evil doom to Hector, Paris, and herself ‘so that even in days to come we may be a song for men that are yet to be’ (ὥς καὶ ὀπίσσω | ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ’ αἰοίδιμοι ἔσσομένοισι); similarly, in *Odyssey* 8.579–80 Alcinous suggests to Odysseus that the gods have doomed Troy in order to make it a song for future generations (580:...ἵνα ᾗσι καὶ ἔσσομένοισιν αἰοιδῇ). However, it is characteristic of the literary form used by Homer and Chariton respectively that the epic heroes think of being ‘sung of’ (αἰοίδιμοι; αἰοιδῇ) while their novelistic rivals wish to become a ‘narrative’ (διήγημα).

4. NARRATIVE IN THE OTHER GREEK NOVELISTS

(i) Introduction

The figures stated at the beginning of this chapter suggest in themselves that of all Greek novelists Chariton is by far the most concerned with διηγήματα. The only other novelists to refer with some frequency to διηγήματα are Heliodorus and Xenophon of Ephesus. But there is also a significant qualitative difference: Chariton appears to be the only novelist who entitled his work διηγήματα and—with a single exception in Xenophon—the only one who employs anonymous ‘narratives’. In other words, novelists apart from Chariton do not refer to narratives *qua* narratives in the strong metaliterary sense discussed above. This makes a lengthy examination unnecessary. In this section, I usually leave instances of διηγείσθαι aside since it is less significant from a metaliterary point of view than the abstract noun διήγημα. A consideration of the verb would not change much and only make the analysis more cumbersome. My account covers, in order of relevance, Heliodorus (ii), Xenophon of Ephesus (iii), and Achilles Tatius (iv). There is nothing to say about Longus in this context, for he uses neither διήγημα nor any related term for ‘narrating’. An (admittedly very casual) explanation of this could be that Longus feels more like a poet in prose than a normal narrator.

(ii) Heliodorus

Heliodorus has a relatively large number of occurrences of διήγημα, διήγησις, and—exclusively among the novelists—ἀφήγησις.⁵⁴ All of these terms considered, the total figure of twenty-six passages outnumbers Chariton's twenty-two references to διήγημα. Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, however, is more than twice as long as *NAC*. What is more, exactly half (thirteen) of Heliodorus' passages are set in the single long story of Calasiris which stretches from the middle of book two to the end of book five. The presentation of this story is highly metaliterary, given that time and again narrator and narratee refer to the way it is being narrated, that is to time and place of storytelling, length, disposition, and vividness. Unsurprisingly then, Calasiris' story has long been a hot spot for metaliterary analysis.⁵⁵ In a way, Calasiris' narratorial self-references are much more calculated and sophisticated than Chariton's concern with narratives. But this points to the significant difference here: what is at stake in Calasiris' story is playful comments on the dynamics of storytelling rather than a coming to terms with one's narratives as such. Heliodorus' frequent use of the words διήγησις and ἀφήγησις attests to this. Both terms refer to 'narration' as a process rather than to particular narratives. To my knowledge, the progressive nuance of διήγησις (or ἀφήγησις) does not play any role in ancient theory on narrative, but Heliodorus' usage speaks for itself. Linguistically it makes perfect sense since Greek nouns in -σις are *nomina actionis* which preserve the progressive character of the underlying verb. There is no particular theory about the rare ἀφήγησις, which seems to be just a precious variant of διήγησις. To make the difference in the Greek text clear, I translate ἀφήγησις as 'exposition'. Here are the passages regarding Calasiris' story:

2.21.6: Calasiris remarks that the hot banks of the Nile are not a good place for listening to long narratives (οὐ γὰρ ἦδὺν μακροτέρων διηγημάτων ἀκροατήριον).

⁵⁴ διήγημα: 1.8.7; 2.21.6; 2.27.3; 2.30.1; 2.31.2; 2.33.6; 3.4.11; 4.5.1; 4.8.6; 6.1.1; 6.2.2; 10.12.4; 10.18.3; 10.33.4; διήγησις: 2.11.1; 3.4.7; 3.4.10; 4.4.2; 5.1.3; 5.1.4; 5.1.5; 5.16.2; ἀφήγησις: 2.23.4; 2.23.6; 2.24.5; 3.1.2.

⁵⁵ Cf. e.g. Winkler 1982; Morgan 1989 and 1991.

2.23.4: Calasiris announces that his exposition and its reception will be long (μακροτέρας γὰρ δεήσει σοί τε τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἐμοί τε τῆς ἀφήγησεως).

2.23.6: Nausicles has often pestered Calasiris to initiate him into his exposition, but Calasiris has always put him off (ὃν πολλάκις γε δι' ὄχλου γινόμενον μυθηῖναι τὴν ἀφήγησιν ἄλλως ἄλλοτε διεκρουσάμην).

2.24.5: Calasiris argues for the necessity of introducing himself before the story, which is not a manipulation of the exposition, but the logical way to present it and an indispensable preliminary for its reception (οὐ σοφιστεύων . . . τὴν ἀφήγησιν ἀλλ' εὐτακτόν σοι καὶ προσεχὴ τῶν ἐξῆς παρασκευάζων τὴν ἀκρόασιν).

3.1.2: Cnemon complains that Calasiris withheld a detailed description of the procession in Delphi; Calasiris replies that he did not want to bore Cnemon and focused on the main points of the exposition and the answers to the original questions (ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτερά σε τῆς ἀφήγησεως καὶ ὧν ἐπεζήτεις ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνελαύνων).

3.4.7: Calasiris' narration has portrayed Charicleia and Theagenes so vividly, and so exactly as Cnemon knows them, that they seem to appear before his eyes (οὕτως ἐναργῶς τε καὶ οὕς οἶδα ἰδὼν ἢ παρὰ σοῦ διήγησις ὑπέδειξεν).

3.4.10: Cnemon wants Calasiris to keep his promise and bring his narration to its end (πλήρου τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν καὶ εἰς τέλος ἄγε τὴν διήγησιν).

3.4.11: Calasiris suggests pouring libations to the gods of the night so that they can fearlessly pass the night with narratives (ὥς ἂν . . . ἐννυκτερεύειν ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀδείας τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἐγγίνωτο).

4.4.2: Calasiris acknowledges Cnemon's indefatigable eagerness to listen to his lengthy narration (καὶ τὴν διήγησιν καὶ μηκνυμένην οὐκ ἀποκναίει).

5.1.3: Calasiris fears that he is prolonging his narration too much and launches it without thinking upon the sea of ensuing events (ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα ἄωρὶ μηκύνω; τί δὲ λανθάνω τὴν διήγησιν εἰς πέλαγος ὄντως ἀφείς τῶν ἐξῆς;).

5.1.4: Cnemon agrees to a break because he has heard something in the house—not because he would not like to continue listening to Calasiris' narration (οὐχ ὥς ἐμοῦ τὴν διήγησιν ἀποσκευαζομένου).

5.1.5: Calasiris has not heard anything, perhaps because he was so absorbed in his narration (ἴσως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν διήγησιν ἡσυχολημένος).

5.16.2: Nausicles, who has come home and has been responsible for the noise, wants Calasiris to repeat his narration for him (με μὴ ἀνιάσεις ὑπερθέμενος καὶ πάλιν τὴν διήγησιν).

6.1.1: Most of the night has gone by with feasting and the 'insatiable length of the narratives' (τῆς νυκτὸς . . . παρὰ τε τὴν εὐωχίαν καὶ τὸ ἀπροσκορὲς μῆκος τῶν διηγημάτων τῆς πλείστης παρωχηκυίας).

Of these thirteen passages, ten refer to 'narration' as διήγησις or ἀφήγησις. The proportion is even higher—nine out of ten—if we leave the first and the last passages out of account, which technically are not part of Calasiris' narration but prepare for it or sum it up respectively. The only occurrence of διήγησις or ἀφήγησις outside Calasiris' story is in 2.11.1, where the dead Thisbe tells her story on a writing tablet found with her body. Cnemon remarks that her very corpse has delivered her narration (ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίσασα τῶν σῶν σφαγῶν τὴν διήγησιν). As in Calasiris' story, the focus lies on the act of telling, which here coincides with the act of reading. The progressive idea of 'narrating' in this group of passages separates them from Chariton's idea of narratives. I am not saying that the passages presented could not teach us something about Heliodorus' poetics. This poetics just seems to have a different, perhaps more philosophical, emphasis. It implies an analysis of the process of storytelling rather than Chariton's more basic thinking of his episodes in terms of 'narrative'.

The other half of Heliodorus' passages are inconclusive as to any particular idea of narrative. Six refer to framed stories which are told and firmly based in the narrated world: the stories of Charicles, set into Calasiris' story, of Cnemon, and of Charicleia:

2.30.1: Charicles wants Calasiris to hear an addition to his narrative (ἦν δέ σε βούλομαι παρενθήκην γινῶναι τοῦ διηγήματος).

2.33.6: Charicles has seized his opportunity and told Calasiris his narrative at some length (ἀφορμῆς τῆς ἐκ αὐτομάτου πως ἐνδοθείσης μακροτέρου πρὸς σε τοῦ διηγήματος ἐδεήθην).

1.8.7: Cnemon refuses to tell his story to Charicleia and Theagenes because what is left of the night would not be enough for the narrative (οὐδ' ἂν ἐπαρκέσειε τὸ λειπόμενον πρὸς τὸ διήγημα τῆς νυκτὸς).

6.2.2: Calasiris encourages Cnemon to tell his story so that his narratives make their journey more pleasant (ἡμῖν τὸν πόνον τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐπικουφίζων καὶ τῷ διηγήματι παραπέμπων).

10.18.3: Hydaspes tells Charicleia to comfort Persinna with her narratives (τοῖς κατὰ σαυτὴν διηγήμασι παρηγοροῦσα).

10.33.4: Charicleia hastens to tell Persinna the main points of her narratives (πρὸς τὰ καιριώτερα τῶν διηγημάτων ὥρμησεν) in order to rescue Theagenes from cultic sacrifice.

These references to *διηγήματα* do not seem to have pronounced metaliterary value. They are not placed in a larger programme as in Chariton's programme of tragicomedy. Even in Charicleia's final narratives, Heliodorus does not take up the opportunity to open a perspective on poetics. A self-referential dimension is palpable, however, in the narratives about Charicleia's waistband—the same waistband which I have briefly discussed in my chapter on novelty:⁵⁶

2.31.2 Charicleia's waistband is embroidered with the narrative of the child's circumstances (*ταινία... διηγήματι τῶν κατὰ τὴν παῖδα κατάστικτος*).

4.5.1: Calasiris contemplates where the oracle wants him to lead Charicleia and Theagenes; he thinks Charicleia's waistband, in which her narrative is embroidered (*ἐν ᾗ τὸ κατ' αὐτὴν διήγημα κατεστίχθαι*), might hold an answer to his question.

4.8.6: Calasiris reads the message on the waistband. It turns out to come from Charicleia's mother, the Ethiopian queen Persinna, who refers to the waistband as a 'piteous narrative' (*ταινία τῆδε, [καὶ] ἐλεεινῶ διηγήματι*).

10.12.4: Charicleia produces her waistband as proof of her identity. She claims that it contains not only her story but also the narratives of her parents (*γράμματα δὲ τάδε τύχης τῆς ἐμῆς τε καὶ ὑμῶν διηγήματα*).

Both the band and the *Aethiopica* tell narratives about Charicleia, and both aim to arouse the sympathy of the reader with her destiny. However, the metaliterary potential would be greater, if *διηγήματα* were part of the title of the *Aethiopica* or played a particular role in other respects. The same applies to 2.27.3, where Calasiris observes that Greeks are fond of listening to Egyptian narratives (*Αἰγύπτιον γὰρ ἄκουσμα καὶ διήγημα πᾶν Ἑλληνικῆς ἀκοῆς ἐπαγωγότατον*). This is a nice self-reference considering that Calasiris is an Egyptian and at least parts of Heliodorus' story are set in Egypt. But the passage is isolated and does not appear to imply any particular idea and use of *διηγήματα* throughout the work.

(iii) Xenophon of Ephesus

Xenophon clearly has a sense of narrating *διηγήματα*, which, however, does not come to light before book three, when the first inset tale

⁵⁶ Cf. above, ch. 5, 194–5.

begins.⁵⁷ This already suggests that Xenophon attributes διηγήματα to the world of the characters rather than the world of the author:

3.1.4: Hippothous starts to weep over dinner. Habrocomes asks him to tell his story. Hippothous answers that 'It's a long narrative . . . and a very tragic one' (καὶ ὃς 'μεγάλα' ἔφη 'τάμὰ διηγήματα καὶ πολλὴν ἔχοντα τραγωδίαν'). Compare 3.1.5: Habrocomes promises to narrate his own story in exchange (ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν διηγῆσασθαι).

3.2.15: At the end of his narratives, Hippothous asks Habrocomes to keep his promise and tell his own story (αὕτη μὲν ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν διηγημάτων τύχη, σὺ δέ, ὦ φίλτατε, εἰπέ μοι τὰ αὐτοῦ).

3.3.3: The girl in Habrocomes' story reminds Hippothous of a previous adventure in which he got to know Anthia. Hippothous adds this detail by drawing Habrocomes' attention to another narrative which he has almost left out (ἄλλο . . . σοι ὀλίγου διήγημα παρήλθον οὐκ εἰπὼν).

3.9.4: While Hippothous and his band of brigands are eating and drinking, an old woman starts a narrative about Anthia (παροῦσα καὶ τις πρεσβύτις ἄρχεται διηγήματος).

3.9.7: Habrocomes, who stays with the brigands but has not joined them for dinner, overhears this narrative (ὁ δὲ Ἀβροκόμης ἤκουε . . . τοῦ διηγήματος).

4.4.1: The prefect of Egypt interrogates Habrocomes, listens to his narrative, and feels sorry for his misfortune (μανθάνει τὸ διήγημα καὶ οἰκτεῖρει τὴν τύχην).

5.1.3: Habrocomes and the fisherman Aegialeus exchange their narratives (ὁ μὲν Ἀβροκόμης αὐτῷ διηγῆσατο τὰ καθ' αὐτόν . . . ὁ δὲ Αἰγιαλεὺς ἄρχεται τῶν αὐτοῦ διηγημάτων).

5.9.7–8: Hippothous recognizes Anthia and alludes to her adventures in Egypt. She cannot identify him at first and is taken aback by the fact that strangers know of her narratives: 'But how do you know my narratives? How can you say you know a wretch like me? It is true that my sufferings are well known and spread abroad, but I do not recognize you at all' (ἀλλὰ σὺ πῶς, εἰπέ, γνωρίζεις τὰ ἐμὰ διηγήματα; πόθεν δὲ εἰδέναι λέγεις ἐμὲ τὴν δυστυχῆ; διαβόητα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἔνδοξα πεπόνθαμεν, ἀλλὰ σὲ οὐ γινώσκω τὸ σύνολον). Compare 5.9.9: Hippothous narrates (διηγείται) his story; 5.9.10: Anthia narrates (διηγείται) her story; 5.9.13 Hippothous learns Anthia's true identity and narrates (διηγείται) his friendship with Habrocomes.

⁵⁷ Xenophon's occurrences of διήγημα are at 3.1.4; 3.2.15; 3.3.3; 3.9.4; 3.9.7; 4.4.1; 5.1.3; 5.9.7; 5.10.4; 5.13.5.

5.10.4: On his way back to Ephesus, Habrocomes despairs of arriving without Anthia and of narrating narratives which will perhaps not be believed (διηγῆσομαι διηγήματα ἴσως ἄπιστα).

5.13.5: At the happy ending, all main characters tell their various narratives (πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα παρὰ πάντων τὰ διηγήματα).

The most intriguing of these passages is 5.9.7–8 where the narratives about Anthia seem to fly as anonymously around the world as Chariton's narratives about Callirhoe. Compare, for instance, 'Anthia's narratives' (τὰ ἐμὰ διηγήματα) with Callirhoe's 'narratives about the mother' (Ch. 2.9.3: τὰ περὶ τῆς μητρὸς διηγήματα). Anthia's 'famous sufferings' (ἐνδοξα πεπόνθαμεν) are reminiscent of Chariton's preview of the second part of *NAC*: 'The narrative of the trial increased her fame still further' (4.7.5: ἐνδοξοτέραν αὐτὴν ἐποίει καὶ τὸ τῆς δίκης διήγημα). On the threshold of the happy turn of events, Anthia not only refers to her past as διηγήματα, she is also aware that she has gained a certain celebrity. I find it very likely that Xenophon here lurks behind Anthia and anticipates the success of his novel. However, bearing in mind that Xenophon was probably a reader of Chariton and that this emphatically metaliterary use of διηγήματα is unparalleled in the *Ephesiaca*, it seems that it is borrowed from *NAC* rather than a momentous outgrowth of Xenophon's original poetics. Richard Hunter reads this passage alongside other references to narratives and narrating in the stories of Hippothous (3.1.5, 3.2.15) and Aegialeus (5.1.3) and argues, as he does with Chariton, that Xenophon exploits questions of fictionality on a larger scale.⁵⁸ But Hunter's remark that 'it is significant that events exist not just "for themselves", but to be narrated to an audience' do not suggest this point. The mere fact that stories are narrated to an audience says little about their metaliterary status and nothing about any take on fictionality.

All the other διηγήματα in Xenophon have a clear origin in the narrated world. They are often accompanied by tears and groans and can in this respect be compared with similar passages in Chariton. But Xenophon does not tie the emotional impact of his narratives into an overarching literary programme as Chariton does. Xenophon

⁵⁸ Cf. Hunter 1994, 1066–7 with n. 60.

follows a pattern, but is not interested in reflecting on it. Accordingly, the final narratives of characters at 5.13.5 are reported as just that—*διηγήματα*—with no hint at any specific purpose or effect. Nor does Xenophon use *διηγήματα* to structure his own account: he generally refers them to stories of characters, but not to episodes of the *Ephesiaca*.

(iv) Achilles Tatius

Achilles Tatius has two occurrences of *διήγημα*, one of *διήγησις* and one of *διηγήτης*. In 5.3.4, Clitophon sees a picture telling the ‘narrative of the drama’ (*τὸ διήγημα τοῦ δράματος*) of Tereus and Philomela. In 8.7.3, Leucippe’s father Sostratus is anxious about the narrative of Syrinx (*τῷ τῆς σύριγγος διηγήματι*) because the ritual reported in it and intended as a test of Leucippe’s virginity might compromise his daughter. These passages are unremarkable from the point of view of poetics. As to general storytelling in the narrated world, Achilles, like Chariton, amasses instances of this in his last book—which is book eight in both authors.⁵⁹ But he only once refers to these by a noun of ‘narrating’, *διήγησις* here. In 8.4.4, Sostratus asks Clitophon to tell his story⁶⁰ and encourages him with a sententious statement reminiscent of Chariton’s poetics of tragicomedy:

ἐπειτα τῶν ἔργων παρελθόντων ἢ διήγησις τὸν οὐκέτι πάσχοντα ψυχαγωγεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ λυπεῖ.

Furthermore, once deeds are over and done with, one who suffered through them now finds their narration brings more pleasure than pain.

This passage, however, is too isolated to draw any conclusions about a particular idea of *διήγησις* or *διηγήματα*. Hardly relevant to this end either is the reference to a *διηγητήης* in 4.15.3: when Leucippe is ill with apparent madness she cries out that one Gorgias has caused her madness (later we learn that this Gorgias administered too high a dose of aphrodisiac to Leucippe). A certain Chaereas claims to know Gorgias. Clitophon implores Chaereas that he should become the

⁵⁹ Cf. *διηγείσθαι* in 8.5.1; 8.5.2; 8.7.3; 8.15.3; 8.18.1.

⁶⁰ For the fact that this story is here referred to as a *μῦθος* cf. above, ch. 5, 171.

‘narrator of that divine message’ (σὺ δὲ διηγητῆς γενοῦ τῶν θείων μηνυμάτων), the divine message referring to Leucippe’s clue. This has little in common with the other references to narratives discussed so far. Yet Achilles’ Chaereas has already given reason to suspect a playful allusion to Chariton in the context of a hyperbolic *Scheintod*.⁶¹ Considering for one thing that διηγητῆς is a *hapax legomenon* in antiquity and for another that Chariton has a penchant for διηγήματα, would it not be a nice point in Achilles’ parodic rationale if he made ‘Chaereas’ the narrator of another unromantic love story?

Of the extant ideal novelists, then, it is only Chariton who consistently and extensively uses terms of narrative, especially the abstract noun ‘narrative’ (διήγημα), to refer to episodes of his work. Again uniquely among the writers of ideal novels, Chariton seems to have adopted the term ‘narratives’ in the very title of his work and uses the verb ‘to narrate’ in his first sentence. He also enriches his idea of narratives by mapping it on to the larger arc of his poetics of tragicomedy. Chariton’s whole concept of writing seems to revolve, among other things, around the category of ‘narratives’. As with ‘novelty’, the fundamental way in which Chariton constructs his story with the help of this category, as well as the fact that the other ideal novelists in key aspects use terms of narrative differently, encourages me to read Chariton’s concern with narratives as a consequence of his inventing a new literary form. Chariton would have got the category of ‘narrative’ from non-novelistic models and then put it to productive use in constructing a new kind of work. I have suggested rhetoric, especially the progymnasmata, as the origin of Chariton’s category of ‘narrative’. Mythographic short stories entitled ‘Narrations’ might have been an additional stimulus. The emerging picture of Chariton developing the novelistic potential of the very idea of ‘narratives’ is neat and consistent, I think. At the same time it is clear that, as with the category of ‘novelty’, a conclusion about his inventing the ideal novel is not inherently necessary. If we looked exclusively at terms of narratives, it would be easy to object, for instance, that Chariton could have been novelist number twenty and simply have brought a particular rhetorical background to his

⁶¹ Cf. above, ch. 5, 181–2.

writing, which suggested to him that he think about it in terms of 'narrative'. However, here as everywhere, it is all about probabilities, not possibilities, and my argument needs to be considered in the broader context laid out in this book. There is no historical evidence for novelists earlier than Chariton and many other characteristics of his poetics lend support to my conclusion.

Rumour

1. THE VOICE OF THE AUTHOR

In my chapters on novelty and narrative I have touched upon the role of Rumour (*Φήμη*) in three remarkable passages: twice Rumour spreads the ‘novel narrative’ (*καινὸν διήγημα*) about Callirhoe’s abduction (3.2.7 and 3.4.1); in a third appearance in the middle of the novel she announces to all the world that Callirhoe is on her way to Babylon (4.7.5). The metaliterary significance of these passages suggests that Rumour in Chariton’s poetics plays more than the supporting role I have attributed to her so far. A glance at the frequency with which the ideal novelists refer to Rumour confirms this suspicion. There are fifteen occurrences of *Φήμη* in Chariton, eight in Achilles Tatius, two in Longus, and one in our fragment of *Chione*. Xenophon of Ephesus and Heliodorus never refer to Rumour. *Prima facie*, then, only Achilles might account for a notable use of Rumour in the other ideal novelists, but in his case distribution somewhat corrects this impression: while in Chariton *Φήμη* always appears in different places, seven out of eight occurrences in Achilles fall within a single extended passage. Reasons enough to bring Rumour centre stage.¹

The motif of Rumour has promising potential both for authors to reflect on their works and for critics to investigate poetics.² Part of

¹ As regards her personification, I write ‘Rumour’, ‘*Φήμη*’, and ‘*Fama*’ (each with a capital letter) whenever I address the allegory or motif of Rumour rather than the common noun. In quotations from editions, however, I respect the editorial choices as to lower or upper case initials.

² Cf. for Rumour in Greek and Latin literature esp. Wassermann 1920 and Ogle 1924; individual aspects are covered by Braun 1991, Gotteland 1997, Hardie 2002 and

this potential lies in the fact that the very idea of Rumour implies a sort of communicative self-reflexivity: the Greek word *φήμη* means ‘talk by many people about something’; in addition, it refers to the content of such many-voiced talk and the talk itself; finally, it denotes the reputation which something or somebody gains or loses through it, for the good or bad name spread by the many voices. To some extent *φήμη* always relates to the nature and effects of reports, stories, and narratives. After all, Rumour is made of words. Another reason for Rumour’s gravitation towards poetics is her availability for the author. By definition she lacks an identifiable origin. Particular people may start rumours, but once Rumour has grown and flies, chances of controlling her are low. The many people behind Rumour are often just a metaphor for her anonymous character. Translated in terms of literature, this means that persons belonging to the narrated world usually do not have power over Rumour. There is one person outside the narrated world, however, who can choose to direct Rumour at will: the author. As my examples will show, most authors decide to present Rumour in the negative sense of ‘gossip’ in which it most often occurs in the real world. If Rumour is given a voice in their works, it is usually not their own, authorial, one—at least not in any simple and straightforward way. Chariton is different in this respect. In my chapter on narrative I have already suggested that Chariton’s authorial intrusions are palpable in anonymous *διηγήματα*. The same applies to anonymous Rumour. My working hypothesis is that Rumour in Chariton is an allegory of the author’s voice and that her appearances are privileged places for studying his metaliterary comments. More than that, Rumour in Chariton is not the ambivalent or outright negative force known from other authors, but—always from the authorial perspective—something positive and desirable. I explore the reasons for this unconventional employment of Rumour in my next chapter since they are part of a larger context well worth examining for its own sake. Here I restrict myself to a phenomenological description of the evidence in Chariton (2), a comparative survey of Rumour in the ideal novelists other than

2005. Of these critics, only Hardie has a clear metaliterary thrust. His link of Rumour with politics, however, does not seem to me applicable to Chariton. Chariton’s Rumour has not been studied in any detail so far. Useful general accounts of Rumour are Spacks 1985 and Neubauer 1998; cf. also Braudy 1986.

Chariton (3), and lastly a review of Rumour in literary history beyond the ancient novel in search for potential models (4).

2. CHARITON'S RUMOUR

With a single exception Chariton's Rumour relates exclusively to the female protagonist of NAC, Callirhoe.³ It seems that from the beginning Rumour's main function is to spread awareness of Callirhoe all over the world. In the narrated world, this need not be a good thing for Callirhoe. Rumour often gives Callirhoe a kind of public exposure she did not ask for, but at the level of poetics it is exactly this exposure that drives NAC forward and ultimately leads up to the happy ending.⁴ In her first appearance Rumour shouts out Callirhoe's beauty and sets the plot of NAC in motion (1.1.2):

φήμη δὲ τοῦ παραδόξου θεάματος πανταχοῦ διέτρεχε καὶ μνηστήρες κατέρρεον εἰς Συρακούσας, δυνάσται τε καὶ παῖδες τυράννων, οὐκ ἐκ Σικελίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ ἡπείρου καὶ ἔθνων τῶν ἐν ἡπείρῳ.

Rumour of the astonishing vision spread everywhere, and suitors flocked to Syracuse, rulers and tyrants' sons, not just from Sicily but from southern Italy too and farther north, and from foreigners in those parts.

The fact that the beauty of a young woman is talked about and leads to a series of complications is in itself not unusual and one might suspect a folkloristic motif here. But there appears to be no parallel in folktale to Chariton's identification of Rumour as such together with her decisive role at the very beginning of the narrative.⁵ Already at this early stage, three circumstances could nudge a reader into identifying the author's voice with that of Rumour. First, Rumour spreads just after the author has introduced himself and his intentions in 1.1.1. Second, the author and Rumour focus on the same person:

³ Chariton refers to Rumour at 1.1.2; 1.5.1; 2.3.8; 2.7.1; 3.2.7; 3.3.2; 3.4.1; 4.6.7; 4.7.5; 4.7.6; 5.2.6 (twice); 5.3.2; 6.8.3; 8.1.11. The exception is 6.8.3, discussed in due course below.

⁴ Cf. the metaliterary function of the pirate Theron, above, ch. 4, 162–3.

⁵ Fine and Severance 1987 point out that rumour is 'in Erzählungen nur selten thematisiert' (1108). There is nothing in Aarne, Thompson, and Uther 2004 which suggests a comparable employment of Rumour in folktales.

Callirhoe; and third, considering that the title of the novel was probably *Narratives about Callirhoe*, the distinction between the narrative of the author and the narrative of Rumour is blurred. It may be significant that Rumour in *NAC* not only spreads news about Callirhoe, but in at least one, in many ways remarkable, passage mentions her *name*, which could also allude to the title of the work (4.7.5):

προέτρεχε γὰρ τῆς γυναικὸς ἡ Φήμη, καταγγέλλουσα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι Καλλιρόη παραγίνεται, τὸ περιβόητον ὄνομα...

Rumour sped ahead of the lady, announcing to all the world that Callirhoe was at hand: the much talked-of name...

Both elements of the phrase 'much talked-of name' (περιβόητον ὄνομα) are used self-referentially in other passages, too. On the one hand, the attribute *περιβόητος*—frequent in Chariton, but absent from all other novelists—is mostly related to Callirhoe and so allows for the play with the title of the novel.⁶ The fact that Rumour sometimes, as in the passage quoted above, appears at the same time as Callirhoe is 'much talked-of' helps activate this metaliterary potential.⁷ On the other hand, there is an exceptional way of talking about the 'name' of Callirhoe in *NAC*, which I do not find paralleled in other novelists and their leading heroines. For one thing, characters affectionately linger on Callirhoe's name, like Dionysius in 2.5.6 when she is introduced to him:

ἔϊπέ μοι, γύναι, πάντα, καὶ πρῶτόν γε τοῦνομα τὸ σόν. 'Καλλιρόη' φησὶν (ἤρесе Διονυσίῳ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα)...

'Tell me everything, lady; first, your name.' 'Callirhoe', she said—Dionysius liked her very name...

It is not surprising that lovers find the name of their beloved beautiful—compare, for instance, the well-known song *Maria* from *West Side Story* ('Maria... The most beautiful sound I ever heard: Maria, Maria, Maria, Maria...')—and we could regard this aside on Callirhoe's name as no more than a fine psychological observation. But

⁶ Chariton uses *περιβόητος* in 13 passages: 1.12.1; 1.14.8; 2.2.3; 2.6.3; 2.7.1; 2.9.4; 3.4.9; 4.6.4; 4.7.5; 5.2.7; 5.3.4; 6.5.3; 6.6.7. Of these, the following do *not* refer to Callirhoe: 2.2.3; 2.6.3; 2.9.4; 3.4.9; 5.3.4.

⁷ Apart from 4.7.5, at 2.7.1 and 5.2.7.

given the metaliterary contexts in which Callirhoe's name is set otherwise, a literary self-reference might well be implied. In 4.2.11, Callirhoe's name gives rise to closer scrutiny: Polycharmus has been heard mentioning her as the cause of his and Chaereas' hardship in Caria. Police take this as a reference to an accomplice in their apparent crime. Meanwhile, Mithridates, the satrap of Caria, has come home from his visit to Miletus where he got to know Callirhoe. Then Polycharmus is brought before him and questioned about the woman who was apparently aiding and abetting them:

‘Καλλιρόην’ εἶπεν ὁ Πολύχαρμος. ἔπληξε τοῦνομα Μιθριδάτην, καὶ ἀτυχῇ τινα ἔδοξεν ὁμωνυμίαν τῶν γυναικῶν. οὐκέτ’ οὖν προθύμως ἤθελεν ἐξελέγχειν, δεδοικῶς μὴ καταστῇ ποτε εἰς ἀνάγκην ὑβρίσαι τὸ ἥδιστον ὄνομα...

‘Callirhoe,’ said Polycharmus. Mithridates was startled at the name; he thought that by some unfortunate coincidence the women had the same name. So he was no longer very eager to pursue the investigation, in case he eventually found himself obliged to do violence to that sweet name.

The fascination with Callirhoe involves a fascination with her name. That this is a little more than psychology and character portrayal is endorsed by further passages in which Callirhoe's name, like Rumour, goes around the world: ‘Your name is known and famous all over the world...’ (6.5.3: τὸ διὰ γῆς πάσης ἔνδοξον καὶ περιβόητον ὄνομα...), or reaches faraway Persia (4.1.8):

ἦν δὴ καὶ κλέος μέγα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης καὶ ἀνέβαινεν ἤδη μέχρι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ὄνομα Καλλιρόης, οἷον οὐδὲ Ἀριάδνης οὐδὲ Λήδας.

...her reputation was indeed great throughout all Asia, and by now her name had reached the King of Persia and was more celebrated than that of Ariadne or Leda.

In all these passages, the ‘name’ of Callirhoe draws attention to the eponymous novel, *Narratives about Callirhoe* (and in the comparison of Callirhoe's name with names of mythical heroines in 4.1.8 we might find again Chariton's wish to distinguish NAC from more traditional stories). The only close parallel to this play on Callirhoe's name is a passage from Xenophon of Ephesus: ‘And soon the names of Habrocomes and Anthia had travelled all through the city’ (1.12.1:

ταχὺ δὲ δι' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως διεπεφοιτῇκει τὸ ὄνομα Ἀβροκόμου καὶ Ἀνθίας). This, however, is much more limited in scope (the names go around a city rather than the world or a continent) and is not set in a larger context of metaliterary references.

The second appearance of Rumour in NAC is prompted by Callirhoe's apparent death (1.5.1):

Καλλιρόη μὲν οὖν ἄφωνος καὶ ἄπνους ἔκειτο νεκρᾶς εἰκόνα πᾶσι παρέχουσα, Φήμη δὲ ἄγγελος τοῦ πάθους καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν διέτρεχεν, οἰμωγὴν ἐγείρουσα διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν ἄχρι τῆς θαλάττης· καὶ πανταχόθεν ὁ θρήνος ἠκούετο, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφκει πόλεως ἀλώσει.

So Callirhoe lay there unconscious, not breathing; she looked to everyone as if she were dead, and Rumour ran all over the town, spreading the news of the catastrophe and arousing cries of grief throughout the narrow streets right down to the sea; wailing was to be heard on all sides—it was like the fall of a city.

The fact that Rumour here is a 'messenger of a suffering' (ἄγγελος τοῦ πάθους) may refer back to the first sentence of NAC, in which Chariton introduces himself as the narrator of an 'erotic suffering' (1.1.1: *πάθος ἐρωτικόν*). It is not clear to what extent these two instances of suffering overlap. The answer very much depends on how we read *πάθος* in the first sentence. While it is evident which emotions are caused by the *πάθος* spread by Rumour on Callirhoe's apparent death (grief and distress), the erotic *πάθος* at the beginning of NAC lacks a definition. The phrase *πάθος ἐρωτικόν* is usually translated as 'love affair' or 'love story', but this leaves the exclusively painful character of *πάθος* in the novelists out of account. At the programmatic turn of events in Ch. 8.1.3, for instance, Chaereas is redeemed after 'he had wandered the world from West to East and gone through untold sufferings [*πάθη*]' (*Χαιρέας ἀπὸ δύσεως εἰς ἀνατολὰς διὰ μυρίων παθῶν πλανηθείς*). Moreover, the rendering of *πάθος ἐρωτικόν* as 'love story' or similar does not explain sufficiently why Chariton goes on to specify 'that took place in Syracuse' (*ἐν Συρακούσαις γενόμενον*). The whole love story of NAC far exceeds the geographical boundaries of Syracuse. Therefore, Richard Hunter has suggested more specific references of *πάθος ἐρωτικόν*, to the first meeting of the lovers at 1.1.6 ('At once they were smitten with love', *ταχέως οὖν πάθος ἐρωτικὸν ἀντέδωκαν ἀλλήλοις*), or indeed to Chaer-

eas' kicking of Callirhoe, which immediately precedes our scene.⁸ The latter reference seems too narrow at first sight, but is plausible considering that Chaereas' kick and Callirhoe's subsequent *Scheintod* mark the start of the whole drama. Bearing Chariton's poetics of tragicomedy in mind, it could be argued that he deliberately announced a *tragic* love story in Syracuse only to surprise his audience with the unexpected happy ending which takes us home to the same city. Or the Syracusan suffering could stand *pars pro toto* for all the *πάθος* accumulated in books one to seven and cleansed away in book eight. In this case, Chariton and Rumour would in actual fact think of the same incident when announcing their respective *πάθος*, and the emotions due to this would be similarly distressing. However, even failing a perfect match between the *πάθος* told by Chariton and the *πάθος* told by Rumour, the overlap of stormy emotional impact seems significant enough to discern the voice of the former in the turmoil of the latter.

A second point very well illustrated by our passage is Rumour's effect on internal audiences. Chariton not only stages Rumour as talk of something, but often pays attention to the individuals and groups of people hit by her powerful emotive force. Since on the one hand Rumour is likely to stand for the author, on the other hand both work to the programme of tragicomedy, the staging of audiences of Rumour can be read as an anticipation of the impact of *NAC* on its readers. Rumour arouses grief and pity (as in the above passage), amazement and curiosity, and finally satisfied admiration upon her last appearance in book eight. My further discussion includes a number of examples of Rumour providing emotional guidance throughout the unfolding of Chariton's tragicomedy.

As Callirhoe is the centre of *NAC* and its emotional impact, Rumour is busy drawing attention to her. At all of Callirhoe's major stops (Syracuse, Miletus, Babylon, Aradus) her presence is heralded by Rumour. For the time being, I would like to make some observations on Rumour's work at Miletus, which is particularly interesting for a number of cross-references to other appearances by her in *NAC*. As soon as Callirhoe is brought to

⁸ Cf. Hunter 1994, 1067 n. 62.

Dionysius' country estate, Rumour makes her known in the environs of Miletus (2.3.8–9):

...καὶ ταχεῖα φήμη διέδραμε τοῦ γεγονότος. ἔσπευδον οὖν πάντες τὴν γυναικα ἰδεῖν, προσεποιούντο δὲ [πάντες] τὴν Ἀφροδίτην προσκυνεῖν.

... and the rumour of the incident spread quickly, so they were all eager to see the woman—though they all pretended to be worshipping Aphrodite.

After that, the desire to see Callirhoe and Rumour's role in stirring it in a wide audience becomes part of two curiously metaliterary anxieties of Dionysius. The first one refers to Callirhoe's potential notoriety in Miletus and Ionia as well as with the Great King of Persia (2.7.1):

Διονύσιος ἐνδιέτριβε τοῖς χωρίοις, προφάσεις μὲν ἄλλοτε ἄλλας (προφέρων), τὸ δὲ [δὴ] ἀληθὲς οὔτε ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς Καλλιρόης δυνάμενος οὔτε ἐπάγεσθαι θέλων αὐτήν· ἔμελλε γὰρ περιβόητος ὀφθείσῃ εἶσεσθαι, καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὅλην τὴν Ἰωνίαν δουλαγωγῆσειν ἀναβήσεσθαι τε τὴν φήμην καὶ μέχρι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

Dionysius continued to stay on his estate. He found various excuses, but the truth was that he was neither able to separate himself from Callirhoe nor willing to take her back with him, because when people saw her, they would all talk about her, her beauty would enslave the whole of Ionia, and rumour of her would reach the Great King himself.

First readers of *NAC* anticipate and second readers know that Dionysius' apprehensions become true: Callirhoe will be very well known in Miletus, Ionia, and Persia. More interestingly, however, it is Rumour who gives rise to Dionysius' anxiety and Rumour who proves it right. In 4.6.7, Rumour brings Callirhoe, now celebrated as the most beautiful woman in Ionia, to the ears of the Great King:

...προσηρέθιζε δὲ καὶ φήμη, Καλλιρόην τινὰ καλλίστην ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας εἶναι.
... he was excited by the rumour that someone by the name of Callirhoe was the most beautiful woman in Ionia...

Framed by this larger correspondence of prophecy and fulfilment, there is a parallel prophecy to which I have already referred in my chapters on novelty and narrative. In 3.2.7, Dionysius imagines the novel narrative (*καινὸν διήγημα*) of Callirhoe's *Scheintod* and abduction from the tomb reaching Syracuse:

πάντων γὰρ πραγμάτων ὀξύτατόν ἐστιν ἡ Φήμη· δι' αἼρος ἄπεισιν ἀκωλύτους ἔχουσα τὰς ὁδοὺς· διὰ ταύτην οὐδὲν δύναται παράδοξον λαθεῖν· ἤδη τρέχει φέρουσα τὸ καινὸν εἰς Σικελίαν διήγημα 'ζῇ Καλλιρόη, καὶ τυμβωρύχοι διορύξαντες τὸν τάφον ἔκλειψαν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν Μιλήτῳ πέπρται.'

Rumour is the swiftest thing there is; Rumour travels through the air, and nothing bars its path; it uncovers any hidden surprise. Even now, Rumour is rushing to carry to Sicily the novel narrative that Callirhoe is alive—tomb robbers opened her tomb and carried her off, and she has been sold in Miletus!

As expected, Rumour lives up to this imaginary portrait when she hits Syracuse anew, even twice. In 3.3.2, Rumour—as in 1.5.1 in the guise of a 'messenger' (ἄγγελος)—spreads the news of Callirhoe's empty tomb and rounds up the internal audience:

ἄγγελος δὲ Φήμη ταχεῖα Συρακοσίοις ἐμήνυσσε τὸ παράδοξον. πάντες οὖν συνέτρεχον ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον...

Rumour—a swift messenger—told the Syracusans this amazing news. They all quickly crowded round the tomb...

After that, a close correspondence to Dionysius' original prediction comes at 3.4.1, where Rumour brings to Syracuse exactly the *καινὸν διήγημα* which Dionysius imagined:

Προεπεδήμησε δὲ ἡ Φήμη φύσει μὲν οὖσα ταχεῖα, τότε δὲ μᾶλλον σπεύσασα μὴνῦσαι πολλὰ παράδοξα καὶ καινά. πάντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν συνέτρεχον, καὶ ἦν ὁμοῦ πάθη ποικίλα κλαόντων, θαυμαζόντων, πυνθανομένων, ἀπιστούντων· ἐξέπληττε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸ καινὸν διήγημα.

Rumour reached home before them; she is naturally swift, and on that occasion she was all the more eager to report these many strange marvels. So everyone hurried to collect by the shore, and the crowd, thunderstruck by the novel narrative, displayed various emotions all at once—tears, astonishment, inquiring interest, disbelief.

In the chapter on novelty I suggested that Dionysius imagining the arrival of Rumour in Sicily reflects Chariton planning his plot. Dionysius' general description of Rumour's appearance and qualities in 3.2.7 adds to this idea. His concern that Rumour will take Callirhoe's story to Syracuse is full of dramatic irony. In the narrated world there is no good reason for Dionysius to linger on the portrait of Rumour as 'the swiftest of all things' (πάντων γὰρ πραγμάτων

ὀξύτατον), 'having unimpeded course' (ἀκωλύτους ἔχουσα τὰς ὁδοὺς), and 'uncovering strange things' (οὐδὲν δύναται παράδοξον λαθεῖν). This is Chariton's description, and what Rumour can do in the narrated world amounts to Chariton's authorial moves in *NAC*. The parallels in the corresponding passage 3.4.1—which openly comes from the authorial perspective—confirms this reading: for one thing, it too is introduced by a general description of Rumour which picks up on 3.2.7 ('she is naturally swift', φύσει μὲν οὔσα ταχέια); for another thing, Rumour transports the same 'novel narrative' (καινὸν διήγημα) and the same παράδοξον to the same destination. Chariton shares with Rumour a particular liking for novelty, narrative, and paradox. The framing correspondence between 2.7.1 and 4.6.7 is not equally pronounced, but the recourse to Rumour, the reference to the same audiences (Ionia and the Great King of Persia) as well as the parallels of 3.2.7 and 3.4.1 strongly suggest that here, too, Dionysius' anxiety reflects Chariton's construction of his plot with the help of Rumour. As with 'novelty' and 'narrative', then, Rumour appears to be a productive category in Chariton's writing and thus to help the author develop his—fundamentally new and unusual—work. At the same time, the reader-oriented function of Rumour is not lost. On the one hand, Rumour continues to draw attention to Callirhoe and, with that, advertise *NAC*. On the other hand, Rumour provides emotional guidance for the reader, especially in 3.4.1 where the 'novel narrative' fills the Syracusans with a riotous multitude of 'emotions' or 'sufferings' (πάθη ποικίλα). This passage is reminiscent of 1.5.1 where Rumour appears as a 'messenger of a suffering' (ἄγγελος τοῦ πάθους) and may similarly relate to the 'erotic suffering' (1.1.1: πάθος ἐρωτικόν) which Chariton sets out to narrate.

I have earlier discussed the highly metaliterary character of the middle of *NAC*.⁹ Among other things, I have suggested that Chariton here announces the second part of his work by praising the episode of the trial at Babylon with which book five starts. Rumour plays a significant role in this transition. She makes a strong appearance when preceding Callirhoe's procession from Miletus to Babylon. The main passage is 4.7.5, where Rumour introduces Callirhoe 'to all the world':

⁹ Cf. above, ch. 5, 185–6.

προέτρεχε γὰρ τῆς γυναικὸς ἡ Φήμη, καταγγέλλουσα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι Καλλιρόη παραγίνεται, τὸ περιβόητον ὄνομα, τὸ μέγα τῆς φύσεως κατόρθωμα, | Ἀρτέμιδι ἱκέλη ἢ χρυσεῖη Ἀφροδίτῃ. | ἐνδοξοτέραν αὐτὴν ἐποίει καὶ τὸ τῆς δίκης διήγημα.

Rumour sped ahead of the lady, announcing to all the world that Callirhoe was at hand: the much talked-of name, nature's masterpiece, 'like Artemis or golden Aphrodite.' The narrative of the trial increased her fame still further.

I have contemplated above that Rumour's trumpeting out of Callirhoe's 'much-talked-of name' (περιβόητον ὄνομα) includes a reference to the title of the novel, *Narratives about Callirhoe*. This reading makes particular sense at this critical point where the second half of NAC is announced. Stephen Nimis has noticed the similarity between Rumour and author in the middle of NAC and has also suggested a metaliterary reference to the title of the novel.¹⁰ Nimis's argument, however, has a different thrust since it makes Rumour an embodiment of the supposedly unstable nature of prose discourse in general—which seems to me unjustified considering that Chariton is the only novelist to give such prominence to Rumour. The appearance of Rumour ahead of the procession from Miletus to Babylon, her praise of Callirhoe's name, and the position of this praise in NAC, all work together to raise awareness of a transition. This transition is then specified by the phrase 'narrative of the trial' (τὸ τῆς δίκης διήγημα), which offers a glimpse into the anticipated events of the second part of NAC. The metaliterary character of Rumour is emphasized here by her sweeping and unparalleled address to 'all people' (πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις). At this cliffhanger in the middle of the novel, this expression draws the greatest possible attention to NAC by referring to a hyperbolic internal audience. When the audience and its fascination with Callirhoe is made more definite in the following passage (4.7.6), Rumour is recalled as the force which announced Callirhoe, but pales compared to the actual presence of the latter:

πόλεις ἀπὸ πάντων ὅλαι καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐστενοχῶρουν οἱ συντρέχοντες ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν· ἐδόκει δὲ [τοῖς] πᾶσι τῆς φήμης ἢ γυνὴ κρείττων.

¹⁰ Cf. Nimis 2003, 260–1; for my general objections to Nimis's theory of 'prosaics' see above, ch. 1, 15–17.

Whole cities came to meet her; people flocked in and packed the streets to see her; and all thought her still lovelier than rumour had made her out.

If, as I have suggested, Rumour in the middle of *NAC* anticipates the second part of the story, this final reference to Rumour by the—still hyperbolic—internal audience might well anticipate the success of the continuation of the work: the actual delivery of further *Narratives about Callirhoe* will outshine whatever Rumour may have said about Callirhoe in the first part.

The first appearance of Rumour in the second half of *NAC* picks up on the hyperbole of 4.7.5 and combines it with a reminiscence of 4.6.7, where Rumour first brings Callirhoe to the notice of Artaxerxes. Now that the parties are arriving in Babylon, Rumour's message for Artaxerxes is clearer and starts the new episode of the trial (5.2.6):

... ἡ Φήμη προκατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν, ἀπαγγέλλουσα πᾶσιν ὅτι παραγίνεται γυνὴ κάλλος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ τι θεῖον, ὅποιαν ἐπὶ γῆς ἄλλην ἥλιος οὐχ ὄρα· ... ἀνέβαινε δὲ ἡ φήμη μέχρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε καὶ ἤρετο Ἀρταξάτην τὸν εὐνοῦχον εἰ πάρεστιν ἡ Μιλησία.

... Rumour was overrunning the city in anticipation, proclaiming to all the imminent arrival of a woman of superhuman, divine beauty, such as did not exist anywhere else under the sun ... The rumour reached the King himself, and he actually asked the eunuch Artaxates whether the woman from Miletus had arrived.

Callirhoe, however, will not only preoccupy Artaxerxes but also his wife Statira and her female court. Chariton is generally interested in bringing out the role and perspective of women in *NAC*. For instance, he emphasizes the participation of women in the assemblies held in the Syracusan theatre at 3.4.4 and 8.7.1. Often this goes hand in hand with a parallelism or contrast between the genders. In 8.7.1, the women are cheering Callirhoe and the men Chaereas, before they unite to cheer them both together. In 5.4.2, the expectations of the Persian women in view of the trial are reported separately from those of the men. Similarly, in 6.1.2–5, we hear of different reactions of the men and women expecting a ruling.¹¹ Conforming to this pattern Chariton sends Rumour out a second time at the beginning of the

¹¹ Cf. further for a focus on women Ch. 1.1.13; 3.5.3; 8.6.11.

Babylonian trial to present Callirhoe to Statira and the Persian women (5.3.1–2):

‘φέρ’ οὖν σκεψώμεθα πῶς μὴ παρευδοκιμηθῶμεν ὑπὸ τῆς ξένης.’ ἐγέλασεν ἡ βασιλὶς ἀπιστοῦσα τῇ φήμῃ, ἅμα δὲ εἶπεν ‘ἀλαζόνες εἰσὶν Ἕλληνες καὶ πτωχοὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ μικρὰ θαυμάζουσι μεγάλως.’

‘So we should consider how to prevent this foreign woman from scoring over us.’ The queen laughed; she did not believe the rumour. ‘Greeks are boastful, impoverished creatures’, she said. ‘That is why they are so easily impressed.’

While the preceding passage starts the whole Babylonian episode, this one introduces on the one hand the beauty contest between the Babylonian women and Callirhoe (5.3), on the other hand the more extended jealousy subplot in which Statira resents Artaxerxes’ affection for Callirhoe. All in all, at the beginning of book five (twice in 5.2.6; 5.3.2), we have a similar accumulation of references to Rumour as at the end of book four (4.6.7; 4.7.5; 4.7.6): another testimony to Chariton’s keen metaliterary awareness at the juncture in the middle of *NAC*.

After these passages Rumour quickly loses prominence. She makes only two appearances in the rest of *NAC*, and only in the last one refers to Callirhoe (the other occurrence being the single instance where Rumour is concerned with something other than the heroine). The relative absence of Rumour in the later parts of the story calls for an explanation. Two interrelated reasons may be given. First, there is not much left for Rumour to do. All major episodes except the Egyptian revolt and the happy ending have been put into place—and sure enough, the remaining two appearances of Rumour occur at the beginning of the Egyptian revolt and the happy ending respectively. Second, Callirhoe loses her prominent role in *NAC* after the Babylonian trial. Books six and seven turn the spotlight on Chaereas and his military excursions while Callirhoe is almost completely eclipsed. Rumour without Callirhoe is just not so interesting. Only once can she do her narrative duties when bringing word of the rebellion to the Great King and thereby introducing another episode (6.8.3):

πρὸς δὲ τὴν φήμην ἐταράχθη μὲν ὁ βασιλεύς, κατεπλάγησαν δὲ Πέρσαι· κατήφεια δὲ πᾶσαν ἔσχε Βαβυλώνα.

The King was thrown into a panic by this rumour, and the Persians were terror-stricken; a deep gloom settled over the whole of Babylon.

The final appearance of Rumour celebrates Callirhoe's return to the story after she has been feared lost by Chaereas (and neglected by Chariton). In 8.1.4, the author sets out his programme of tragicomedy; in 8.1.5–10 the recognition of Chaereas and Callirhoe is announced and enacted; and in 8.1.11, Rumour breaks the news:

Φήμη δὲ διέτρεχεν ὅτι ὁ ναύαρχος εὑρήκε τὴν γυναῖκα. οὐ στρατιώτης ἔμεινεν ἐν σκηνῇ, οὐ ναύτης ἐν τριήρει, οὐ θυρωρὸς ἐν οἰκίᾳ· πανταχόθεν συνέτρεχον λαλοῦντες ὧς γυναικὸς μακαρίας, εἰληφε τὸν εὐμορφότατον ἄνδρα. Καλλιρόης δὲ φανείσης οὐδεὶς ἔτι Χαιρέαν ἐπῆνεσεν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐκείνην πάντες ἀφεώρων, ὡς μόνην οὖσαν.

The rumour spread that the general had found his wife. Not a soldier stayed in his tent, not a sailor on his ship, not a lodgekeeper at his door. People poured together from all sides, saying to each other, 'What a lucky woman, to win such a handsome husband!' But when Callirhoe appeared, no one praised Chaereas anymore; they all turned their gaze on her, as if she alone existed.

The reaction of the internal audience suggests that at this point the attention shifts from Chaereas back to Callirhoe. This is not only true for the narrated world, but also for Chariton who now proceeds with the love story left behind since the outbreak of the war in 6.8. Here, Rumour also has the role of integrating the narrative of Chaereas into *Narratives about Callirhoe*. The further description of reactions to the reunion of Chaereas and Callirhoe indicates that Chariton sees part of his achievement precisely in the paradoxical conjunction of war and love—which might be regarded as a literary triumph over his model Thucydides, as discussed in chapter four (8.1.12):

ἄνθη καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέβαλλον αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἶνος καὶ μύρα πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἔχεϊτο, καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης ἦν ὁμοῦ τὰ ἥδιστα, ἐπινίκια καὶ γάμοι.

They had flowers and wreaths showered on them; wine and myrrh were poured out at their feet as they walked; the sweetest fruits of war and peace were joined in celebration of victory and marriage.

To sum up: Rumour in Chariton can be read as a thinking tool and an advertising strategy of the author in planning and commending *NAC*. Rumour preferably appears at junctures of *NAC* where questions about the further course of events are most relevant. Her narrative is characterized in the same terms as Chariton's: both tell *διηγήματα*, novelties, and paradoxes. What is more, both provide emotional guidance for audiences according to the overarching programme of tragicomedy. Rumour is Chariton's spokeswoman in matters of poetics.

3. RUMOUR IN THE OTHER GREEK NOVELISTS

The figures for occurrences, given in my introductory remarks, show that there is not much material to compare with Chariton's Rumour. I nonetheless consider it here to ascertain whether Rumour is in any way characteristic of the 'genre' of the ideal novel and whether the other novelists supply anything to explain Chariton's use of the motif.

I would like to start with *Chione*. The fact that our fragments of this novel are scarce makes a consideration of the potential role of Rumour in it quite speculative. I have pointed out in chapter three, however, that the one appearance of Rumour in the remains of the text is strongly reminiscent of Chariton. In the passage concerned, plans of a forced marriage for Chione are emerging (*col.* II, lines 3–9 S&W):

ταχέως δὲ διεφοίτησε ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν... φήμ[η καὶ] οὐθε[ῖς] ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐλάλει [ἧ] περὶ τοῦ γάμου.

But quickly there spread through the entire city... rumour [and] no one spoke of anything else but the marriage.

The specific parallel with Chariton is in the image of Rumour's running through a city, which has no counterpart in the other ideal novels.¹² In *NAC*, this image occurs on the one hand in the dramatic

¹² But cf. below, 268–9 with n. 28.

scene of Callirhoe's death: 'Rumour ran all over the town, spreading the news of the catastrophe' (1.5.1: Φήμη δὲ ἄγγελος τοῦ πάθους καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν διέτρεχεν); on the other hand when Callirhoe comes to Babylon: 'Rumour was overrunning the city in anticipation, proclaiming to all the imminent arrival of a woman of super-human, divine beauty' (5.2.6: ἡ Φήμη προκατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν, ἀπαγγέλλουσα πᾶσιν ὅτι παραγίνεται γυνὴ κάλλος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ τι θεῖον). Together with other elements *Chione* has in common with *NAC*, I have taken this parallel as a clue to Chariton's authorship of *Chione*.¹³ It is unlikely, therefore, that the appearance of Rumour in *Chione* accounts for a larger, generic, use of the motif.

Next, to Longus. One of his two references to Rumour can be found in his preface. The narrator tells us about his discoveries on a hunting expedition in Lesbos. He describes a beautiful grove sacred to the Nymphs, as well as a picture in it representing an erotic subject, tantamount to scenes from *Daphnis and Chloe*: (praef. 1.):

ὥστε πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ξένων κατὰ φήμην ἦσαν, τῶν μὲν Νυμφῶν ἰκέται, τῆς δὲ εἰκόνης θεαταί.

Many people were attracted by the rumour and came, even from abroad, to pray to the Nymphs and to look at the picture.

Some elements of this passage recall the first appearance of Rumour in Chariton (1.1.2): her position at the start of the novel; the large number and diverse origin of the people drawn by her; and most importantly, the metaliterary significance of the object of their admiration: as Callirhoe stands for *Narratives about Callirhoe*, the picture in the grove of the Nymphs represents *Daphnis and Chloe*.¹⁴ Longus' second passage, too, is in keeping with Chariton's usage. It comes towards the end of *Daphnis and Chloe*, after the discovery of Daphnis' real identity (4.25.3):

¹³ See above, ch. 3, 105–9.

¹⁴ Cf. also Ch. 2.3.8–9, following Callirhoe's goddess-like appearance in the temple of Aphrodite: '... the rumour of the incident spread quickly, so they were all eager to see the woman—though they all pretended to worship Aphrodite' (... ταχεῖα φήμη διέδραμε τοῦ γεγονότος. ἔσπευδον οὖν πάντες τὴν γυναικα ἰδεῖν, προσεποιούντο δὲ [πάντες] τὴν Ἀφροδίτην προσκυνεῖν).

Ταχείας δὲ φήμης εἰς πάντας ἐλθοῦσης ὅτι Διονυσοφάνης εὗρεν υἱόν, καὶ ὅτι Δάφνης ὁ αἰπόλος δεσπότης τῶν ἀγρῶν εὐρέθη, ἅμα ἔω συνέτρεχον ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν, τῷ μὲν μειρακίῳ συνηδόμενοι, τῷ δὲ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ δῶρα κομίζοντες.

The rumour quickly got around to everyone that Dionysophanes had found a son, and that Daphnis the goatherd had been discovered to be the master of his fields. So, at dawn, people ran there, from all over the place, sharing in the young man's pleasure and bringing presents to this father.

We may compare Rumour's role after the recognition of Chaereas and Callirhoe in Ch. 8.1.11. In both cases, Rumour at the end of the novel spreads the news of a recognition, draws a crowd of cheering people, and conveys a certain sense of closure. Perhaps Longus' references to Rumour are inspired by Chariton, perhaps they are motivated by a broader generic tradition. All told, they are simply too rare to suggest either. It goes without saying that many characteristic features of Chariton's Rumour (her telling διηγήματα, novelties, paradoxes, πάθος etc.) are absent in Longus.

Finally, Achilles Tatius. Of his eight references to Rumour seven can be found in the same context (6.9.3–6.10.5), and six out of these seven belong to a single utterance (6.10.1–5). This is the single most extensive passage on Rumour not only in the ideal novels, but in the whole of ancient Greek literature. For this reason and because I return to Achilles' Rumour later, I quote the passage in its entirety, together with its conclusion in 6.10.6. It is spoken by Melite to her husband Thersandros, who has been believed drowned at sea. When Thersandros unexpectedly comes back, Melite has to account for her relations with Clitophon and makes up a speech in her defence. Leading up to this, she assures Thersandros of having been worried about him, thinking to herself among other things 'And if he has really died at sea, as rumour reports...' (6.9.3: *Εἰ δὲ τῷ ὄντι τέθνηκε κατὰ θάλατταν, ὥς ἡ φήμη λέγει...*). Then, Melite cunningly puts the blame on Rumour and her 'mother' Slander (6.10.1–6):

‘Πίστευσον, ἄνερ· οὐδὲν μου, φίλτατε, παρὰ τὸν τῆς συμβιώσεως κατέγνωκας χρόνον· μηδὲ νῦν τοιοῦτον ὑπολάβοις. Ἡ δὲ φήμη διαπεφοίτηκεν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὸν νεανίσκον τιμῆς, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν πολλῶν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς κοινωνίας. Καὶ γὰρ σὺ φήμη τέθνηκας. Φήμη δὲ καὶ Διαβολὴ δύο συγγενὴ κακὰ· θυγάτηρ ἡ Φήμη τῆς Διαβολῆς. Καὶ ἔστι μὲν ἡ Διαβολὴ μαχαίρας δξύτερα, πυρὸς σφοδρότερα, Σειρήνων πιθανωτέρα, ἡ δὲ Φήμη ὕδατος ὑγρότερα, πνεύματος δρομικωτέρα,

πτερῶν ταχυτέρα. Ὅταν οὖν ἡ Διαβολὴ τοξεύσῃ τὸν λόγον, ὁ μὲν δίκην βέλους ἐξίπταται καὶ τιτρώσκει μὴ παρόντα καθ' οὗ πέμπεται· ὁ δὲ ἀκούων ταχὺ πείθεται, καὶ ὀργῆς αὐτῷ πῦρ ἐξάπτεται, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βληθέντα μαίνεται. Τεχθεῖσα δὲ ἡ Φήμη τῷ τοξεύματι ῥεῖ μὲν εὐθὺς πολλή καὶ ἐπικλύζει τὰ ὦτα τῶν ἐντυχόντων, διαπνέει δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον καταγιγίσκουσα τῷ τοῦ λόγου πνεύματι καὶ ἐξίπταται κουφιζομένη τῷ τῆς γλώσσης πτερῷ. Ταῦτά με τὰ δύο πολεμεῖ· ταῦτά σου τὴν ψυχὴν κατέλαβε καὶ ἀπέκλεισέ μου τοῖς λόγοις τῶν ὧτων σου τὰς θύρας.'

'Trust me, husband. You have never had anything to hold against me, dearest, throughout the years of our marriage. Don't begin to harbour such suspicions now. The rumour went into circulation because of the honour I paid to the young man, since most people were ignorant of the reason for our association. If rumour be believed, you yourself were dead. Rumour and Slander are two kindred iniquities: Rumour is Slander's daughter. Slander is more sharp than a sword, more powerful than fire, more persuasive than Sirens; Rumour spreads more elusively than water, is more fleet than a breeze, swifter than wings. When Slander takes aim with a story, it speeds like an arrow and wounds the targeted person, who may be far away. The person who hears it soon believes it, a fire of anger is lit in him, and he rages against the wounded victim. Rumour is born from the bow shot: she spreads extensively and instantly, her sound waves reverberating in the ears of passersby; she comes up like a sudden squall of windy words, and she flies lightly on the wings of people's tongues. These two powers are at war with me. They have occupied your soul and barred the gates of your ears to my words.'

Achilles is the only novelist whose Rumour lies. This is one clear difference from Chariton. Another difference is that Achilles' Rumour does not seem to carry out any larger authorial plan. If anything, she could mimic previous uses of Rumour and so contribute to Achilles' general parodic rationale, a point I attempt to specify at the very end of this chapter. As far as Chariton's use of Rumour is concerned, we can note that Achilles does not provide a parallel which suggests a consistent use of the motif in the ideal novels. The one remaining occurrence of Rumour outside the context discussed is at the end of book seven. Clitophon has learned that a young woman—whom he correctly suspects to be Leucippe—sought shelter in the temple of Artemis. He rushes off to see her, but Rumour of the events reaches Leucippe before him: 'Yet no one can run so fast that the wings of rumour will not outrun him' (7.16.3:

οὐκ ἔστι δὲ οὕτως ἄνθρωπος δρομικώτατος, ὃν οὐ τῆς φήμης φθάνει τὸ πτερόν). This passage is neither particularly reminiscent of Chariton's use of Rumour, nor can it be read in any larger pattern.

This closer look at Rumour in the ideal novels confirms what the figures for occurrences indicated in the first place: Chariton's use of Rumour is unique among the novelists. Judging from the later tradition, no clue to any generic convention about Rumour in the ideal novels can be found. There does not seem to be any good reason, therefore, to postulate earlier novelistic models to account for Chariton's handling of the motif.

4. RUMOUR IN GREEK LITERARY HISTORY APART FROM THE NOVELS

If Chariton did not invent the motif of Rumour out of nothing, he must have had a non-novelistic model.¹⁵ Two narrative genres suggest themselves, epic poetry and historiography. Rumour has also been studied in oratory and drama,¹⁶ which in many ways constitute two significant points of reference for Chariton. But they are unlikely models here. In the orators Rumour tends to be associated with the personal reputation of those involved in the various cases. And when speakers use Rumour as an argument in their favour, her truth status practically always becomes an issue, unlike Chariton's indifference towards this question. In drama, there is no authorial narrator who can control Rumour and resort to her to organize his narrative discourse. Rumour firmly belongs to the represented world of the acting characters. In either case the scope for a metaliterary use of the motif is limited and indeed there is nothing in oratory and drama which comes close to Chariton's wide-ranging and consistent use of the motif.

¹⁵ Cf. generally on Rumour in the Greek tradition Wassermann 1920, 6–39.

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. Gotteland 1997 for the Attic orators; Ogle 1924, 99–105 for Graeco-Roman drama.

References to Rumour in epic poetry are as old as Greek literature itself. The first examples come from Homer and Hesiod. In Homer, however, the word *φήμη* always has the meaning of ‘divine/prophetic saying’, never the later one of ‘rumour’. Comparable to Rumour is Homer’s *Ῥοσσα*, who occurs once in the *Iliad* and three times in the *Odyssey*.¹⁷ *Ῥοσσα*, too, is of divine origin. She is ‘from Zeus’ (ἐκ Διός, *Od.* 1.282–3 and 2.216–17) and a ‘messenger of Zeus’ (Διὸς ἄγγελος, *Il.* 2.93; cf. ἄγγελος *Od.* 24.413). Her potential to produce unrest and commotion manifests itself in the *peira* episode of the *Iliad* where she rushes through Agamemnon’s men: ‘And with them blazed Rumour, messenger of Zeus, urging them on; and they gathered together’ (2.93–4: μετὰ δέ σφισιν ῥοσσα δεδήει | ὀτρύνουσ’ ἰέναι Διὸς ἄγγελος· οἱ δ’ ἀγέροντο). More interestingly with a view to Chariton is a passage from the end of the *Odyssey*, when the suitors have been killed (24.413–16):

*Ῥοσσα δ’ ἄρ’ ἄγγελος ὦκα κατὰ πόλιν ὥχετο πάντη,
μνηστῆρων στυγερὸν θάνατον καὶ κῆρ’ ἐνέπουσα.
οἱ δ’ ἄρ’ ὁμῶς αἶοντες ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
μυχμῶ τε στοναχῇ τε δόμων προπάροιθ’ Ὀδυσῆος...*

Rumour, the messenger, went swiftly throughout all the city, telling of the terrible death and fate of the suitors. And the people heard it all at once, and gathered from every side with moanings and wailings before the palace of Odysseus.

This passage could have inspired the appearance of Rumour upon the death of Callirhoe in *NAC* 1.5.1 as well as the similar passage in *Chione* discussed above (in my next section, however, I argue that Homer is not Chariton’s primary model here). Be that as it may, there are certainly elements in Homer’s *Ῥοσσα* which recall Chariton’s *Φήμη*: the unquestioned truth status of her talk, her appearance as a messenger (ἄγγελος) of death, and her effect on large crowds. On the other hand, Homer provides no significant pattern of referring to Rumour and lacks the metaliterary employment characteristic of Chariton.

After Homer Rumour falls into disrepute, and can, until Chariton, never fully recover from the bad label attached to her. The first and perhaps decisive blow is delivered by Hesiod in his *Works and Days*.

¹⁷ *Il.* 2.93–4; *Od.* 1.282–3; 2.216–17; 24.413–14.

Hesiod leaves no doubt that *Φήμη* is unreliable and he goes to some length to advise his addressee to stay clear of her (760–4):

ὦδ' ἔρδειν· δειλὴν δὲ βροτῶν ὑπαλεύειο φήμην·
 φήμη γάρ τε κακὴ πέλεται, κούφη μὲν αἶραι
 ῥεῖα μάλ', ἀργαλέη δὲ φέρειν, χαλεπὴ δ' ἀποθέσθαι.
 φήμη δ' οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα πολλοὶ
 λαοὶ φημίζουσιν· θεὸς νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή.

Act this way. Avoid the wretched rumour of mortals. For rumour is evil: it is light to raise up quite easily, but it is difficult to bear, and hard to put down. No rumour is ever entirely got rid of, once many people talk it up: she too is some god.

Further Greek hexameter poetry until Chariton's period does not make anything of Rumour. There is not a single reference to her in Apollonius Rhodius, and the fragments of assorted epics provide nothing of interest either. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. *Ἀράκυνθος*) reports that the Cretan Rhianus, in the third century BC, wrote a hexameter poem entitled *Φήμη*. But we know nothing about this work except a single line, which does not say anything about Rumour: 'Hear my prayers, Athena from the Aracynthus, daughter of a noble sire' (*Κλύθι μοι εὐχάων Ἀρακυνθιάς εὐπατέρεια*).

In historiography, Rumour often occurs as a messenger of military victory—or defeat, according to perspective. This may be related to a cult of Rumour in this context. Aeschines writes that the Athenians dedicated an altar to *Φήμη* (*In Tim.* 128; cf. Paus. 1.17.1), and the scholiast on this passage explains that this altar commemorated news of a victory of Cimon in Pamphylia. Five out of ten references to *φήμη* in Herodotus are placed in the context of rumours of near-simultaneous Greek victories in Plataea and Mycale (9.100–1).¹⁸ Characteristically, however, the historian Herodotus is not content with Rumour alone. He adds that a later examination of the facts proved the rumours right (9.101). In contrast to Homer or Chariton, Herodotus takes the possibility of a lying Rumour into account. His further references are unremarkable: three times *φήμη* is used for oracles and prophecies (1.43; 3.153; 5.72); once the word refers to praise for a person (1.31) and once Rumour goes—reminiscent of

¹⁸ Cf. Gotteland 1997, 101–6 on Rumour in this passage.

the *Iliad*—through the Greek army and stirs it up with the news of an immediate threat (9.17). Only one passage in Thucydides refers to *φήμη*, in which the fame of the Trojan war exaggerates the historical truth: it 'is shown by the facts to have been inferior to the rumour about it' (1.11.2: *δηλοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδέεστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης*). Thucydides represents the typical view of the analytical historian, already prefigured in Herodotus, who relies on factual evidence rather than on hearsay. There is no evidence for a different approach to Rumour in Hellenistic historiography. Add to this that Rumour in historiography is hardly ever the personified active subject as in epic or in Chariton. Nor can historiographers, if they want to retain at least a bit of realism, use Rumour as a metaliterary device to structure their narrative account. All this makes historiography an improbable model for Chariton.

5. VIRGIL'S RUMOUR

Against the background of Greek literary history, Chariton's use of Rumour remains somewhat mysterious. Homer provides some clues, but no pattern nor a metaliterary dimension. Perhaps the exclusive focus on Greek literature is too narrow. So far, I have deliberately ignored the fact that the most prominent employment of Rumour in ancient literature cannot be found in a Greek text, but in Virgil's *Aeneid*. I am aware that arguments for a Latin model to a Greek text are often met with particular scepticism. However, I deal with this larger issue in my next chapter and ask readers for suspension of judgement in the meantime. Here I would like to demonstrate that the best clues for Chariton's Rumour can indeed be found in Virgil.

Virgil's use of Rumour is original in two ways:¹⁹ first, his ecphrasis of an evil *Fama* in book four of the *Aeneid* attaches unparalleled weight to Rumour in a major episode; and second, his frequent resort to a neutral *Fama* as a messenger of events structures the narrative account, effectuates changes of scenes, and puts the emotional im-

¹⁹ Cf. Ogle 1924; illuminating are also Pease 1935, 211–25, esp. 211–13, and Hardie 2002; cf. Dangel 2002.

pact of events on internal audiences on display. All this could have appealed to Chariton in his adaptation of the motif.

In the *Fama* ecphrasis of *Aeneid* 4, Virgil picks up on Hesiod's description of a rotten, gossiping, and lying Rumour. The Roman author, however, gives her much more prominence and dwells on her repulsive appearance (4.173–83):

Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,
 Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum:
 mobilitate viget virisque acquirit eundo,
 parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras
 ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.
 illam Terra parens ira inritata deorum
 extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
 progenuit pedibus celerem et pernibus alis,
 monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,
 tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
 tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris...

At once Rumour runs through Libya's great cities—Rumour the swiftest of all evils. Speed lends her strength, and she wins vigour as she goes; small at first through fear, soon she mounts up to heaven, and walks the ground with head hidden in the clouds. Mother Earth, provoked to anger against the gods, brought her forth last, they say, as sister to Coeus and Enceladus, swift of foot and fleet of wing, a monster awful and huge, who for the many feathers in her body has as many watchful eyes beneath—wondrous to tell—as many tongues, as many sounding mouths, as many pricked-up ears...

As explicitly stated in line 181, *Fama* in this description is a monster (Virgil uses a very similar line when referring to the Cyclops Polyphemus in *Aen.* 3.658: 'a monster awful, hideous, huge, and eyeless'; *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*).²⁰ Surely this ugly Rumour could not serve as a ready-made model for Chariton to copy and paste. Two considerations, however, suggest that he was influenced by exactly this passage.

First, Franz Wassermann noticed a remarkable difference between Greek and Latin descriptions of Rumour:²¹ while Greek authors tend

²⁰ Cf. also the portraits of Allecto in *Aen.* 7.324–445 and of Eris in Hom. *Il.* 4.442–3.

²¹ Cf. Wassermann 1920, e.g. 40.

to speak about Rumour as an abstract force, the Romans paint her personally and lend her individual traits. Yet this division collapses after Virgil, which shows not least in the personal portrayals of Rumour in Chariton and Achilles Tatius. Wassermann is aware of our poor knowledge of the Hellenistic tradition and takes lost common sources into account. He does not hesitate, however, to suggest as an alternative a direct influence of Virgil and his Latin epic successors on Chariton and later Greek literature.²²

Second, there are a number of parallels between Chariton's and Virgil's Rumour. They concern metaliterary approach, text, and theme. In Virgil's ecphrasis, Rumour is clearly a metaliterary device in the service of the author. From her bird's-eye view, she actively drives the course of action in a new direction. Her standing above the events is even physically embodied by her head in the sky and her wings. Here a textual parallel between Chariton and Virgil suggests itself:²³

Ch. 3.2.7: πάντων γὰρ πραγμάτων ὀξύτατόν ἐστιν ἡ Φήμη· δι' αἴρος ἄπεισιν ἀκωλύτους ἔχουσα τὰς ὁδοὺς

Rumour is the swiftest thing there is; Rumour travels through the air, and nothing bars its path.

~ Aen. 4.174–7: *Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum... mox sese attollit in auras | ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.*

Rumour the swiftest of all evils... soon she mounts up to heaven, and walks the ground with head hidden in the clouds.

It is true that swiftness is a common attribute of *Fama*/Φήμη. But I do not know of any earlier passages which describe Rumour as 'the swiftest of' a group of things. More than that, both passages are followed by the idea of Rumour flying through the air and an image related to walking (ἀκωλύτους... ὁδοὺς; *ingreditur*). Virgil's passage constitutes the very beginning of his ecphrasis. It would have been all the easier for Chariton to recall.²⁴

²² Cf. Wassermann 1920, 33 (on Chariton) and 42 (generally).

²³ Noted as early as D'Orville 1783² (1750), 348: 'Videtur autem deberi hoc Charitonis effatum *Virgilio* 4. *Aeneid.* 174'. Cf. Cataudella 1927 for textual parallels between *Aeneid* 4 and NAC. I discuss this issue at length in ch. 8.

²⁴ Wassermann 1920, 33 observes in Chariton's passage 'eine Anzahl persönlicher Züge, die sehr stark an die zeitlich vorausliegenden Schilderungen der römischen Epiker erinnern'.

In both authors Rumour tells of an erotic suffering which is at the same time represented in the framing narrative. In the *Aeneid* Rumour sings of the love story of Dido and Aeneas, the subject of Virgil's main story in book four (*Aen.* 4.189–95):

haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:
venisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum,
cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido...

Now she joyously filled the nations with all kinds of gossip and sang alike of fact and falsehood, how Aeneas had come, one born of Trojan blood, to whom in marriage fair Dido deigned to join herself...

Chariton, in the very passage which seems to imitate *Fama's* airborne appearance, has his Rumour bring the 'novel narrative' of Callirhoe's apparent death to Sicily (Ch. 3.2.7: *τρέχει φέρουσα τὸ καινὸν εἰς Σικελίαν διήγημα*).

Things are, of course, more complicated in Virgil than in Chariton. Virgil's *Fama* does not advertise the love affair she sings of. On the contrary, she maliciously subverts it. If we would like to discern any romantic voice of the author in Virgil's ecphrasis, this would be a quiet second voice—familiar from the pessimistic readings of the *Aeneid* in the second half of the twentieth century²⁵—rather than a loud first. This second voice—perhaps perceptible in the 'monstrification' of *Fama*, a certain sympathy for Dido, and the special interest in her character—would regret that events have to run their inevitable course. With the love story of Dido and Aeneas, a sentimental element has entered the *Aeneid*, which—if not stopped in time—would put the epic project in danger. Virgil cannot continue to write about Dido and Aeneas and at the same time produce the imperial epic of the Roman people. At this point, *Fama* is his device to bring romance to a halt and turn the course of his work around. Her turning into a monster is prepared and reflected in a number of other passages of *Aeneid* 4. The souring of Rumour, also referring to Dido's 'reputation', is a common thread running through this book. Ultimately it is the conflict of *fama* with *amor* that leads to catas-

²⁵ Cf. e.g. Harrison 1990, 5–10.

trophe. When Dido and Aeneas seek shelter from the storm which brings them together, Virgil comments (169–71):

ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur
nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:
coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

That day first was the cause of death, that day first was the cause of calamity. For no more is Dido swayed by fair show of fair reputation, no more does she dream of a secret love: she calls it marriage and with that name veils her sin.

Immediately after that, *Fama*, the monster, spreads out in her long ecphrasis (173–97) and brings the couple into disrepute. Then it is *impia Fama* who brings the news of Aeneas' departure to Dido (298). Dido blames him for the loss of her previous, splendid *fama*: 'because of you I have also lost my honour and that former reputation' (321–3: *te propter eundem | extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam, | fama prior*). Abandoned, she can do nothing other than curse Aeneas and hope for *fama* in death: 'Relentless one, you will repay! I shall hear, and the rumour will reach me in the depths of the world below!' (386–7: *dabis, improbe, poenas. | audiam et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos*). Chariton has a different agenda. The love affair is what *NAC* is about and consequently Rumour promotes it in an unambivalent way. She acts in keeping with a larger plan on the part of the author which saves Callirhoe and Chaereas. Read in this context, *NAC* seems like a romantic response to Virgil's story of Dido and Aeneas. I explore the likelihood of this idea in my next chapter.

Now to Virgil's second characteristic use of *Fama*, as a means of structuring his account, bringing reports from A to B and affecting internal audiences. The similarity to the appearances of Rumour in Chariton is evident here. This is a selection of the most relevant passages from the *Aeneid*:²⁶

²⁶ Cf. Ogle 1924, 92–4. The *Aeneid* has 62 occurrences of *fama*; the *Georgics* and the *Eclogues*, for comparison, only 5 and 2 respectively. However, the figures cannot easily be compared with those for the Greek *φήμη*, since the semantic spectrum of *fama* is broader. *fama* more often than *φήμη* means 'fame' or 'reputation'.

3.121–2: *Fama volat pulsum regnis cessisse paternis | Idomeneia ducem*, ‘a rumour flies that Idomeneus, the chieftain, has left his father’s realm for exile’. The rumour that Idomeneus and his Greeks have abandoned Crete causes Aeneas to sail to Crete.

3.294: *incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris*, ‘the rumour of a tale beyond belief fills our ears’. The rumour that Helenus has become the husband of Andromache leads Aeneas to visit him and learn about his destiny.

4.298–9: *eadem impia Fama furenti | detulit armari classem cursumque parari*, ‘The same heartless Rumour brought her the maddening news that they are arming the fleet and making ready for sailing’. The rumour of Aeneas’ departure from Carthage prompts Dido’s rage.

4.666–8: *concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem. | lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu | tecta fremunt...* ‘Rumour riots through the stricken city. The palace rings with lamentation, with sobbing and women’s shrieks...’. The rumour of Dido’s death brings about grief and turmoil in Carthage.

7.104–5: *sed circum late volitans iam Fama per urbes | Ausonias tulerat*, ‘but Rumour, flitting far and wide, had already borne the tidings through the Ausonian cities...’. The rumour of Faunus’ response to Latinus, concerning the destiny of Lavinia, rushes through the Italian cities.

7.393–4: *fama volat, furiisque accensas pectore matres | idem omnis simul ardor agit nova quaerere tecta*, ‘Rumour flies abroad, and the matrons, their breasts kindled with fury, are driven on, all by the same frenzy, to seek new dwellings’. The rumour that Amata, in her frenzy, has gone off into the hills induces others to follow her example.

8.554–5: *Fama volat parvam subito vulgata per urbem | ocius ire equites Tyrrheni ad limina regis*, ‘Suddenly, spreading through the little town, flies a rumour that horsemen are speeding to the doors of the Tyrrhene king’. The rumour that Aeneas, together with the young soldiers of Evander, is bidding farewell to the king fills the mothers of the soldiers with anxiety and fear.

9.473–5: *Interea pavidam volitans pennata per urbem | nuntia Fama ruit matrisque adlabitur auris | Euryali*, ‘Meanwhile, winged Rumour, flitting through the fearful town, speeds with the news and steals to the ears of Euryalus’ mother’. The rumour of Euryalus’ death results in the frenzy of his mother and the despondency of the Trojans.

10.510–12: *Nec iam fama mali tanti, sed certior auctor | advolat Aeneae tenui discrimine leti | esse suos, tempus versis succurrere Teucris*, ‘And now no mere rumour of the bitter blow but a surer messenger flies to Aeneas—that his men are but a hair’s breadth removed from death, that it is time to succour the routed Teucrians’. The rumour of the death of Pallas and the perilous state of Aeneas’ troops makes Aeneas step up his commitment in the battle.

11.139–41: *Et iam Fama volans, tanti praenuntia luctus | Euandrum Euandrique domos et moenia replet, | quae modo victorem Latio Pallanta ferebat*, 'And now Rumour in her flight, heralding this piercing woe, fills Evander's ears, his palace and his city—Rumour that but now was proclaiming the triumph of Pallas to the dwellers in Latium'. The rumour of Pallas' death arouses grief and turmoil.

Two of these passages (3.294 and 10.510–12) imply the possibility of an unreliable nature of *Fama*, but this does not have any consequences for the truth of the messages delivered by her. In neither case is deception or misinformation involved. The truth status of *Fama* is not subject to any discussion. Rather, the allusions to it place emphasis on the astonishment of the listener (3.294) or even the unusual certainty of the message (10.510–11). In all other passages the truth of *Fama*'s report is a matter of course. Internal audiences take it as a fact, and readers never have reason to doubt it. This is reminiscent of Homer's Rumour, only Virgil's is much more conspicuous because of the high frequency of occurrences. There is a good chance that he was inspired to some of his most dramatic flights of *Fama* by *Od.* 24.413–16 (quoted above and repeated below), the appearance of Rumour after the death of the suitors. For Virgil's *Fama*, too, is particularly good in reaction to the death of his protagonists (4.666–8: Dido; 9.473–5: Euryalus; 10.510–12 and 11.139–41: Pallas). The author of the *Aeneid*, however, makes a pattern of this single instance in Homer. He also changes a basic element in that his Rumour arouses pity for the good characters, and not for the villains as in Homer. This invites comparison with a key passage for my argument: Chariton's description of Callirhoe's apparent death.

Callirhoe's *Scheintod* at 1.5.1 is a pivotal moment in *NAC*. In terms of plot, it prompts the separation of the lovers and, with that, the whole series of adventures and sufferings until the final reunion in book eight. In terms of poetics, I have argued above that the concurrent appearance of Rumour as a 'messenger of suffering' refers to the *πάθος* the author wants to provoke in his audience. In chapter five I also drew attention to the subsequent references to novelty which relate to Callirhoe's apparent death and mark it out as a significant invention. Homer would no doubt have been a worthy model for a scene of this consequence. The actual passages, however,

which I repeat for the sake of clarity, suggest that Chariton followed Virgil to a larger extent than Homer:

Od. 24.413–16: Ὅσσα δ' ἄρ' ἄγγελος ὄκα κατὰ πόλιν ῥχετο πάντη,
| μνηστήρων στυγερὸν θάνατον καὶ κῆρ' ἐνέπouσα. | οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὁμῶς αἰόντες
ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος | μυχμῶ τε στοναχῇ τε δόμων προπάρειθ'
Ὀδυσῆος...

Rumour, the messenger, went swiftly throughout all the city, telling of the terrible death and fate of the suitors. And the people heard it all at once, and gathered from every side with moanings and wailings before the palace of Odysseus.

Aen. 4.666–70: ...concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem. | lamentis
gemituque et femineo ululatu | tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus
aether, | non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis | Karthago aut
antiqua Tyros...

Rumour riots through the stricken city. The palace rings with lamentation, with sobbing and women's shrieks, and heaven echoes with loud wails—as though all Carthage or ancient Tyre were falling before the intruding foe...

Ch. 1.5.1: Φήμη δὲ ἄγγελος τοῦ πάθους καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν διέτρεχεν,
οἰμωγὴν ἐγείρουσα διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν ἄχρι τῆς θαλάττης· καὶ πανταχόθεν ὁ
θρήνος ἠκούετο, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐρώκει πόλεως ἀλώσει.

Rumour ran all over the city, spreading the news of the catastrophe and arousing cries of grief throughout the narrow streets right down to the sea; wailing was to be heard on all sides—it was like the fall of a city.

The first clauses in Chariton and Homer are very similar. Rumour is a messenger (ἄγγελος) and rushes through the *whole* city (πάντη ~ καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν). But after that Virgil provides the better parallels. He gives a model for all elements in their particular order: first, the appearance of Rumour who strikes a city; second, lament everywhere, not only in the city, but extending to nature (the sea in Chariton, heaven in Virgil); third, the simile of a city sacked by enemies. The rhetorically contrived nature of Virgil's references to Carthage *or* Tyre is further increased in Chariton's to *any* city.²⁷ Virgil

²⁷ Cf. Paul 1982 for the motif of *urbs capta* in historiography, rhetoric, and drama. Pease 1935, 516 notes Chariton's simile as a parallel to *Aen.* 4.669–70, but does not consider the larger context. It is a curious detail, incidentally, that the only capture of a city described in *NAC* is the capture of Tyre (7.4.9: Τύρος ἐάλωκει, 7.4.10: Τύρον δὲ ἀλώσεως).

and Chariton also share the same narrower context. Both stage the reactions to the death—or in *NAC*, apparent death—of their respective female protagonists, Dido and Callirhoe. My conclusion is that Chariton imitated Virgil, perhaps with Homer in mind in the first clause. Regarding this first clause and its context, there seems to be only one Greek passage between Homer and Chariton which combines the elements of the death of a person and of Rumour's rushing through a city.²⁸ It occurs in Nicolaus of Damascus' *Life of Augustus* and refers to the tense atmosphere after Caesar's assassination: 'Speedily a rumour spread to those outdoors and through the whole city, revealing nothing accurately, but only that some great calamity had befallen.' (*FGrH* 90 F 130, p. 398: ταχὺ δ' ἡ φήμη καὶ τοῖς ἔξω διήγγειλε καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἐφοίτα τὴν πόλιν τὰκριβὲς μὲν οὐ δηλοῦσα, ὅτι μέντοι κακόν τι μέγα εἶη προσπεπτωκός). It seems as if the sequence death–Rumour was present to Nicolaus as a fixed motif since there is a second passage in his *Life* which resembles the first. It does not refer to actual, but still to potential death, namely Antonius' allegations that Octavian had been plotting against his life: 'Speedily a rumour spread through the city that the consul had been plotted against' (*FGrH* 90 F 130, p. 417: ταχὺ δ' ἡ φήμη κατὰ τὴν πόλιν διήγγελλεν ὡς ἐπιβουλευθείη ὁ ὕπατος). These passages, especially the first one, might be an imitation of *Od.* 24.413, but it strikes me that the author most probably knew Latin,²⁹ was a contemporary of Virgil, and, like the latter, in Augustus' entourage. It may not be too far-fetched to suspect that Nicolaus somehow, directly or indirectly through Augustus (on whose autobiography the *Life* is based), was influenced by Virgil's Rumour.

The other true reports of Rumour in Virgil are not imitated by Chariton in individual passages and contexts, but in their totality they provide an eye-catching model for a general narrative device. Chariton seems to have adopted this device by adding two original twists: first, he related almost all appearances of Rumour to the love affair, similarly to what happens in *Aeneid* 4; second, he got rid of the

²⁸ For the latter motif in its own right cf. e.g. Sappho fr. 44.12; Aeschin. *In Tim.* 127; Diod. Sic. 13.61.2. Note, however, that the *Aeneid* has this motif six times (three times in book 4): 4.173; 4.187; 4.666; 7.104–5; 8.554; 9.473–4.

²⁹ Cf. Rochette 1997, 233–4 and 287 n. 131.

ambivalence of *Fama* in *Aeneid* 4 by aligning Rumour with the poetics of his work, relieving her of her monstrous, anti-romantic character. With that, Chariton created a fundamentally new image of Rumour, entirely suited to his literary-historical situation and purpose. The particular circumstances in which Chariton adapted Virgil's Rumour may also answer the question why later novelists did not give similar importance to Rumour. On the one hand, Rumour as a metaliterary thinking tool was no longer needed after Chariton had provided the model for the future genre. On the other hand, later Greek writers of ideal novels did not look to the same extent to Virgil as a model for their works. The Virgilian origin of the motif of Rumour in *NAC*, however, seems to me confirmed precisely by the Greek novelist with the second highest number of references to Rumour, Achilles Tatius. As in the *Aeneid*, Achilles' Rumour spreads out to crush a romantic relationship—that of Melite and Clitophon. No ecphrasis of Rumour in ancient literature other than those of Virgil and Achilles has this function. Compare further in Achilles' description of Rumour the three hyperbolic comparatives 'more elusively than water, more fleet than a breeze, quicker than wings' (6.10.4: ὕδατος ὑγροτέρα, πνεύματος δρομικωτέρα, πτερῶν ταχύτερα) with Virgil's 'swifter than any other evil' (*Aen.* 4.174: *Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum*) and Chariton's 'the swiftest of all things' (3.2.7: πάντων γὰρ πραγμάτων ὀξύτατον).³⁰ Considering these parallels in the narrower and in the larger context, I cannot help finding in Achilles' passage a cheeky parody of Virgil's ecphrasis of *Fama*. This parody may imply a snide commentary on Chariton and his perceived sentimental reception of Virgil's Rumour. And in this case, the fact that the ecphrasis of Rumour in Achilles comes from the character Melite—Callirhoe's not-so-ideal counterpart in her aspects of adulteress and subject of rumour—would add another mischievous nuance to his rewriting of the novelistic tradition.³¹

³⁰ Cf. Wassermann 1920, 36.

³¹ Cf. Morales' (2004, 113 n. 65) observation that Melite's ecphrasis is the only passage in *Leucippe and Clitophon* where a piece of general wisdom is attributed to a female speaker. Perhaps her apparent authorial agenda has something to do with this.

Virgil

1. MORE VIRGIL

I finished my chapter on Rumour with the conclusion that Virgil's *Aeneid* was a model for Chariton. This is a strong claim considering that many scholars hold on to an old postulate that Greek writers did not take creative inspiration from Roman literature. In this chapter I would like to substantiate my claim and place it in a larger context. On the one hand, this shores up the *terminus post quem* for NAC which I have identified with Virgil's death in 19 bc. On the other hand, the nature of Chariton's dependence on Virgil also supports my general hypothesis that he invented the ideal novel. I suggest that Virgil provided a model not only for Chariton's Rumour, but for a number of elements which are at the heart of NAC. And if for such fundamental elements Chariton looked to Virgil, this indicates that there was no preceding novelistic tradition in which he could find them.

The thrust of my arguments concerning the relation between Virgil and Chariton is both *against* a common Greek model for the two authors and *for* Virgil's influence on Chariton. It is impossible, however, to consider the idea of a common Greek source at any length when this—as in this instance—amounts to arguing against an unknown, merely postulated, entity. All one can do on this front is to point out on the one hand that no obvious Greek model is extant or can with good reasons be surmised, and on the other hand that the postulate is groundless, either in general or in the particular circumstances given. The verisimilitude of the whole argument, therefore, chiefly depends on how convincingly the case can be made *for*

Chariton's reception of Virgil. I advance this argument in two ways, one more literary (2) and the other more historical (3).

In the literary account, I discuss further parallels between *Aeneid* 4 and *NAC*: further textual echoes (i); the motifs of the second marriage and the child (ii); and a general parallel in the character of the leading heroine (iii). If we entertain the idea of a common Greek source, we will surely think of one model which combines all these divergent elements. Such a model is of course imaginable. But is it probable? If, however, we think of more than one Greek model, why would Virgil and Chariton, independently of each other, have adapted the same elements from different sources?

In my historical account I first touch on the general question of the reception of Latin literature in Greek texts (i). After that, I argue for the likelihood that the *Aeneid*—in whatever form—was known to Chariton. This argument consists of a sketch of the privileged relations between Rome and Aphrodisias (ii), and of three scenarios describing how Chariton would have got to know Virgil's text (iii).

If these considerations make Chariton's reception of Virgil plausible, the question arises of consequences for our overall reading of *NAC*. It may be particularly interesting to see how Chariton's use of the eminently political *Aeneid* relates to the political interpretations of *NAC* which have gained momentum in recent years. As an afterthought, I ponder the significance of my result in this context and weigh literary invention against political meaning (4).

2. FURTHER PARALLELS

(i) Textual Parallels

My starting point in this section is an article by Quintino Cataudella in which he presents a range of textual parallels between the Dido and Aeneas episode of the *Aeneid* and Chariton's *NAC*.¹ Cataudella's contribution has received little attention in later scholarship, due not least to the general reluctance to accept Latin poetry as a model for

¹ Cf. Cataudella 1927.

Greek writing. Richard Hunter and Consuelo Ruiz Montero, for instance, acknowledge the closeness of the parallels put forward by Cataudella, but brush off the possibility of an imitation by speculating on common Greek sources.² I would like to discuss two of Cataudella's parallels and add some more evidence to his thesis. However, I do not revisit here two of the best correspondences noted by him since I have quoted and discussed them in chapter seven: one is Chariton's description of airborne Rumour in 3.2.7, which resembles the beginning of Virgil's ecphrasis of *Fama* in *Aen.* 4.174–7; the other the flight of Rumour upon the death of Callirhoe (1.5.1) and Dido (*Aen.* 4.666–70) respectively. The scene immediately preceding Rumour's lament over the heroine in *NAC* is paralleled by another passage in the *Aeneid*:

Ch. 1.4.12: ... ἐρριμμένην δὲ αὐτὴν αἱ θεραπαινίδες βαστάσασαι κατέκλιναν ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην.

She fell down, and her maids picked her up and laid her on her bed.

~ *Aen.* 4.391–2: suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra | marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.

Her maids support her, carry her swooning form to her marble bower, and lay her on her bed.

The phrasing and the sequence of events are closely mirrored: passing out, support by the maidens, laying down on the bed. The first two elements are cast in a *hysteron proteron* by the poet, and resolved into chronological order by the prose author. Again the context is highly significant: the swooning women are, of course, Callirhoe and Dido. Both of them lose consciousness because they have been either physically or mentally hurt by their lovers: Chaereas has kicked Callirhoe in the stomach; Aeneas is abandoning Dido.

As an example of a number of less conspicuous but plausible parallels I adduce this passage:

Ch. 3.1.8: ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα μᾶλλον ἐξέκλυσε Διονύσιον καὶ τινα ἔσχευ ἐλπίδα κούφην ἀντερᾶσθαι δοκῶν.

² Cf. Hunter 1983, 77; Ruiz Montero 1994a, 1009. I have found only two scholars agreeing with Cataudella: Irmscher 1985, 282; and Scourfield 2003, 167–8 n. 24.

These words inflamed Dionysius all the more, and he conceived some faint hope that suggested to him his love was returned.

~ *Aen.* 4.54–5: His dictis impenso animum flammavit amore | spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem.

With these words she fanned into flame the queen's love-enkindled heart, put hope in her wavering mind, and loosed the bonds of shame.

The common context is in this case given by an intimate friend of the female protagonist, who advocates an erotic relationship. In Chariton, Callirhoe's maidservant Plangon tells Dionysius that Callirhoe may upon certain conditions be ready for a marriage. In Virgil, Anna encourages her sister Dido to take her chance with Aeneas. As far as the actual phrasing is concerned, the parallel sequence of inflaming words and hope seems to me worthy of attention.

Cataudella provides many more parallels,³ but it is true that they will convince no one who has not found anything in the passages referred to above. Scourfield has, in passing, added some material, for instance Ch. 8.1.3: [*sc.* Ἀφροδίτῃ] ὀργισθεῖσα χαλεπῶς ('having been made intensely angry') ~ *Aen.* 1.4: *saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram* ('on account of cruel Juno's unforgetting anger').⁴ This is not a close textual parallel but interesting for the fact that in both works we have an angry female goddess made responsible for the unfolding of the plot. I myself would like to add *Aen.* 1.315, [*sc.* Venus] *virginis os habitumque gerens*, 'Venus with a maiden's face and mien', as a potential model for Chariton's 'virgin Aphrodite' (1.1.2: Ἀφροδίτης

³ Fleeting references aside, he discusses the following passages: Ch. 2.5.8: οὐ πρὸς ἄλλοτριον ἑρεῖς: ἔστι γὰρ τις καὶ τρόπου συγγένεια ~ *Aen.* 1.628–30: *me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores | iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra; | non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco*; Ch. 3.5.4 τί [τίνι F] νῦν με καταλείπεις, ὦ τέκνον, ἡμυθῆτα πρεσβύτην ~ *Aen.* 4.323–4 *cui me moribundam deseris hospes | (hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat)?*, cf. Ch. 8.5.13: Διονυσίω εὐεργέτῃ, 'οἱμοὶ' φησὶν 'οὐκέτ' "ἀνδρί"; Ch. 4.1.11: οἱ μὲν κομίζοντες τὴν κλίνην ἔθηκαν, ἀναβᾶσα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἡ Καλλιρόη Χαιρέα περιεχύθη καὶ καταφιλοῦσα τὴν εἰκόνα ~ *Aen.* 4.650–9: *incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba: ... dixit, et os impressa toro* (improbable to me); Ch. 4.4.9: μνήσθητι τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τῆς μυστικῆς ~ *Aen.* 4.316: *per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos*; Ch. 6.4 (hunt of Artaxerxes) ~ *Aen.* 4.130–59 (hunt of Dido and Aeneas); cf. additionally the passages listed below in n. 12. Cataudella also remarks on the common motif of suitors—suitors pose a problem to Dido (Iarbas) as well as to Callirhoe—, but surely the *Odyssey* is a more obvious model here.

⁴ Scourfield 2003, 167–8 n. 24.

παρθένου). This phrase has always baffled readers and led a number of editors, among them Goold and Reardon, to athetize παρθένου. For what it is worth, Virgil's 'maiden Venus' was striking enough for Ovid to mimic in attributing the accompanying phrase to the sea monster Scylla (*Met.* 13.733: [*sc.* Scylla] *virginis ora gerens*). As with Ovid in the Roman world, Chariton might in his own way have been intrigued by Virgil's paradoxical coinage. All these minor suggestions, however, require a certain readiness to accept a bigger picture. Instead of running through all potentially relevant passages, therefore, I proceed with a more general consideration of motifs.

(ii) The Second Marriage and the Baby

NAC has two significant motifs which fly in the face of what scholars have taken to be long-established generic conventions of the ideal novel: a second marriage and a baby. The only other second-marriage episode in the love novels, Melite's and Clitophon's in Achilles Tatius, seems to exploit Chariton's model in a number of respects.⁵ But even Achilles does not come up with a baby. One way to make sense of these seemingly eccentric elements in Chariton is to regard them as innovations in a pre-existing genre.⁶ Since such a genre is not suggested by our literary-historical evidence, however, another reading offers itself. In chapters two and four, I have argued that Callirhoe's unintended fidelity gap results from an idealization of the adultery stories told in low-life narratives such as Aristides' *Milesian Tales*. This accounts for the second marriage, but not for the baby. I here explore a complementary idea which not only accounts for both elements, but also offers a model for their 'ideal', high-pitched emotional fashioning in NAC. Both, the second marriage and the baby, are germinally prefigured in the Dido and Aeneas story of the *Aeneid*.

Regarding the second marriage, even the sequence of events is similar in Virgil and Chariton: Callirhoe is married to Chaereas; she is first separated from him and later has reason to believe that

⁵ Cf. e.g. above, ch. 5, 190–1.

⁶ Cf. above, ch. 1, 18.

he has been killed (3.10); Chaereas appears to her in a dream and gives advice (2.9.6); Callirhoe marries Dionysius, but remains emotionally attached to Chaereas; finally she returns to him. In the *Aeneid*, Dido had been married to Sychaeus who was killed; Sychaeus appears to her in a dream and gives advice (1.353–9);⁷ Dido aims at a marriage with Aeneas (cf. *coniugium* in *Aen.* 4.48, 172, 431; *coniunx* 4.324, 338; 4.316: *per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos*), but after her failed affair turns out to be devoted to Sychaeus (4.457–61). She ‘returns’ to him, that is she joins him in the underworld where the couple appear together in 6.473–4. There are, of course, profound differences in register—tragedy in Virgil, romantic tragicomedy in Chariton—and numerous details. But a blueprint for transposition and modification was there.

The argument concerning the baby is supported by a parallel—if somewhat inverted—train of thought on the part of the respective heroines. In the end this comes close to a verbal reminiscence. Already during her pregnancy, Callirhoe is confident that her child will take after his father Chaereas: ‘When you grow up, you will easily be recognized by your family—I am sure I shall bring you into the world in the likeness of your father’ (2.11.2: ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος γνωρισθήσῃ ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν· πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι ὁμοίόν σε τέξομαι τῷ πατρὶ). Following the birth of her son, she thanks Aphrodite for granting her wish (3.8.7):

τότ’ ἂν σοι καὶ περὶ ἑμαυτῆς ἡπιστάμην χάριν, εἴ μοι Χαιρέαν ἐτήρησας. πλὴν εἰκόνα μοι δέδωκας ἀνδρὸς φιλτάτου καὶ ὅλον οὐκ ἀφείλω μου Χαιρέαν.

I should be grateful to you for myself as well if you had watched over Chaereas for me. But you have given me an image of my dear husband; you have not taken Chaereas from me altogether.

Dido’s wish for a child is foreshadowed early in the fourth book of the *Aeneid* when Anna appeals to her: ‘are you, lonely and sad, going to pine away all your youth long and know not sweet children or

⁷ In the dream scenes both authors evidently look to Patroclus’ appearance in Achilles’ dream in Hom. *Il.* 23. 62–102. Chariton even quotes *Il.* 23.66–7 in his relevant passage. This does not necessarily mean, however, that Chariton was not inspired by Dido’s dream at all. Similar to what I have suggested for Rumour’s lament over Dido and Callirhoe, he might have called upon Homer precisely *through* reading Virgil.

love's rewards?' (32–3: *solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa | nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?*). When Aeneas is about to leave Dido, she implores him (327–30):

saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset | ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi
parvulus aula | luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret, | non equidem
omnino capta ac deserta viderer.

At least, if before your flight a child of yours had been born to me, if in my hall a baby Aeneas were playing, whose face, in spite of all, would bring back yours, I should not think myself utterly vanquished and forlorn.

Both heroines wish for a child that would remind them of its father. Dido's wish is thwarted, Callirhoe's granted. Dido loses hope for Aeneas, Callirhoe hopes for Chaereas to come. Dido feels forsaken, Callirhoe is saved from that feeling. Chariton's obvious pride in the motif of mother and child could well have risen from a literary competition with Virgil. Perhaps significantly, this pride is most clearly expressed in 3.8.6, just before the passage quoted above: 'First, she took her son in her own arms; that formed a beautiful sight, such as no painter has ever yet painted nor sculptor sculpted nor poet recounted, since none of them has represented Artemis or Athena holding a baby in her arms.'⁸ It seems as if Chariton has finally granted Dido's wish in the alternative world of romance.

(iii) Dido and Chariton's Heroines

The case for the influence of Virgil's Dido on Chariton's writing might gain further weight from two related observations, one more general and one more specific. Both are quite hypothetical, but interesting and worth making. The specific one picks up on Hägg and Utas's suggestion that in *M&P* Parthenope could have suffered some sort of—actual or apparent—death by fire.⁹ The main plank to this idea is the ending of *MSP*, where Bärtānubā throws herself on the pyre to defend her chastity. Now, if Parthenope's death by fire

⁸ Cf. for the Greek text and for the motif of novelty in this passage above, ch. 5, 167.

⁹ Cf. above, ch. 3, 108–9.

constituted a prominent scene in *M&P*, then the death of Dido would have been an obvious model. There are not many cases of suicide on the pyre in classical literature, and if we restrict ourselves to those involving a love interest we are left with two major literary scenes:¹⁰ Evadne committing suttee in Euripides' *Suppliants* (990–1071) and Dido's deadly ruse in Virgil's *Aeneid* (4.474–704). Virgil's scene is not only more elaborate and psychologically more impressive (judging from the fortunes of his portrayal), it also contains an element of secrecy and deceit reminiscent of what we see in *MSP* and of what Hägg and Utas contemplate for *M&P*. In the *Aeneid*, Dido tricks her sister Anna into constructing a pyre which would ostensibly serve to burn all remaining souvenirs of Aeneas. Dido then secretly ascends it herself and uses it as her funeral pyre. In *MSP* (9.3), Bārtānubā asks the Persian king for firewood so as to sacrifice to her God in private. She then uses the wood and the privacy for her martyrdom. The fact that Christian martyrdom is usually suffered in public suggests that our scene is indeed adapted from a different story. This could be the *Aeneid* itself, though other indications point to a novelistic *Scheintod*: before her martyrdom, for instance, Bārtānubā asks the king to transfer her dead body to her country in the event that she dies before him (9.5); and when this really happens after her death the text says that 'they carried her like someone sleeping' (11.4). There is a sense that Chariton in *M&P* somehow staged the death of Parthenope on the pyre and that, as with the death of Callirhoe, he was inspired to this scene precisely by the powerful account of Dido's death in *Aeneid* 4.

My second, more general, observation refers to Renate Johné's comparison of the characters of Dido and the heroines of the ideal novels.¹¹ Johné's chief example for the latter is Heliodorus' leading woman Charicleia, but all points of her discussion apply equally to Callirhoe—who in my scheme, perhaps together with Parthenope and Chione, would define for later novelists what it meant to be a novelistic heroine. Johné neither considers a direct reception of Virgil nor focuses on any details. Rather, she brings out some general traits shared by Dido and the ideal heroines: mental strength, emancipa-

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Pease 1935, 512; Edgeworth 1976–7.

¹¹ Cf. Johné 1987, 21–33; ead. 1996, 170.

tion, passion, idealism, and loyalty. Clearly, these qualities are imprecisely defined and do not in themselves suggest any literary borrowings.¹² In the light of what has been said so far, however, we should ask ourselves if we really know a female character from Greek literature who fits this bill better than Dido does. The crucial difference between Dido and the novelistic heroines, in Johnes's as well as in my view, comes down to generic register: Dido ends up unhappy because she lives in a world in which reconciliation between public and private values is impossible; the heroines of the ideal novels end up happy because of the ultimate harmony between private and public values in the romantic scheme of things. Returning from here once more to the hypothesis that *M&P* did not end happily (perhaps Parthenope was really killed in the fire), it might be argued that Chariton in his earlier experiment that was *M&P* worked closer to Virgil's model and only later went on to develop Callirhoe's happy ending.

3. WHY AND HOW WOULD CHARITON ADAPT VIRGIL?

(i) Latin Literature in the Greek World

It is certainly true that, compared with the impact of Greek literature in the Roman world, reception in the other direction is by and large insignificant. It would be wrong, however, to assume that this direction did not exist at all. Scholarship has long known of individual cases where Latin literature was read and adapted by Greek authors,

¹² Cf. for a more detailed—but not necessarily more cogent—comparison between Dido and Callirhoe Cataudella 1927, 310–11: their resemblance to Artemis (Ch. 1.1.16 ~ *Aen.* 1.496–504 [cf. Ch. 3.8.6; 4.7.5; 6.4.6]); their insanity upon an unexpected message (Ch. 3.9.2 ὥσπερ ἐμμανὴς γενομένη ~ *Aen.* 4.300 *saevit inops animi*); their concern about the afterlife (Ch. 1.14.7: ἡσθόμεν ἂν καὶ τεθνεώσα, 3.8.8: ἡσθησόμεθα δὲ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τεθνεώτες ~ *Aen.* 4.387 *audiam et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos*); their reproach to the initiators of their love (Ch. 2.2.6–7: Ἀφροδίτῃ θεὸς ἐμοὶ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἰτία... 'σύ μοι' φησαὶ 'πρώτῃ Χαίρειαν ἔδειξας' ~ *Aen.* 4.548–9: ... *tu prima furentem | his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti.*

and recent research has increasingly drawn attention to this issue.¹³ From the time of Polybius (208–126 BC), a number of Greek historians and biographers interested in Roman history knew Latin and used Latin sources to a varying degree. The examples discussed by Bruno Rochette include prominent authors such as Polybius himself, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Nicolaus of Damascus, Strabo, Flavius Josephus, and Plutarch.¹⁴ The case of historians writing about things Roman is of course a particular one and easier to concede than our case of poetry and fiction. But Latin poetry did have some influence on Greek literature, and Virgil is the most influential figure in this undercurrent. I restrict myself here to examples from the first and second centuries AD.

Gordon Williams suggests that a number of epigrammatists who feature in the *Garland of Philip*, arguably edited in the same period as Chariton's *NAC*, are influenced by Augustan poetry.¹⁵ This is plausible not least because the epigrammatists in question had close ties to Rome or lived there for a while. The earliest and at the same time one of the most convincing examples is a passage from Erycius of Cyzicus, whose *floruit* was the third quarter of the first century BC. In one epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 6.96) Erycius apparently picks up on Virgil's connection of Arcadia with bucolic poetry—something which cannot be found in Hellenistic bucolics and is therefore likely to be a genuine Virgilian invention. In the passage concerned, the phrasing reads like a translation of the Latin text: Virgil speaks of the shepherds Thyrsis and Corydon, 'Arcades ambo' (Verg. *Ecl.* 7.4), Erycius of Glaucon and Corydon, Ἀρκάδες ἀμφοτέρου (*Anth. Pal.* 6.96.2).¹⁶ On a larger scale of genre, plot, and motifs, Marianne Palmer Bonz has recently studied Virgil's *Aeneid* as a defining model for Luke's *Doppelwerk* consisting of his *Gospel* and *Acts*; more specifically, Chris Shea has proposed the reliance of *Acts* 10.1–11.18 on *Aeneid* 8, with the most significant parallel being the motif of the native host (Peter;

¹³ Cf. e.g. Reichmann 1943, esp. 1–16; Irmscher 1985; Hose 1994; Rochette 1997; Hubbard 2006, 508–11; Sánchez-Ostiz, Torres Guerra, and Martínez 2007 (esp. the contributions of M. Hose and J. B. Torres Guerra). Adams 2003 examines the broader topic of non-elite bilingualism.

¹⁴ Cf. Rochette 1997, 218–41.

¹⁵ Cf. Williams 1978, 124–34.

¹⁶ Cf. Hubbard 2006, 511 with n. 35 for a recent discussion of this imitation.

Evander) accepting a foreigner (Cornelius; Aeneas) in his land.¹⁷ As regards the Greek novels, I have pointed out a potential reception of Virgil's *Aeneid* in Achilles Tatius at the end of my chapter on Rumour. Rolf Kussl considers Ovid's story of Ceyx and Alcyone (*Met.* 11.410–748) as a model for our *Herpyllis* fragment;¹⁸ Thomas Hubbard has made a strong case for Longus' reception of Virgil's *Eclogues*;¹⁹ and Ewen Bowie considers, among other scenarios, Antonius Diogenes as a reader of Petronius.²⁰ In my view, part of Bowie's argument implies Antonius' dependence on Virgil. I would like to make this point to conclude my general remarks on the reception of Latin poetry (and especially Virgil) in Greek fiction.

In the passage concerned Antonius' heroine, Dercyllis, comes from Etruria 'to the so-called Cimmerians' (Phot. *Bibl.* 166.109a39: *εἰς Κιμμερίους οὕτω καλουμένους*). The Cimmerians are a people localized by ancient authors in many places. The first reference to them and at the same time the *locus classicus* is *Odyssey* 11.14, in which they are said to dwell beyond Oceanus, at the entrance to the underworld. Probably inspired by this passage, authors from Magna Graecia transferred the Cimmerians to the Italian entrance to Hades, at Lake Avernus in Campania, where they were assumed to dwell in caves between Baiae and Cumae.²¹ Dercyllis in fact descends into the underworld and receives instruction from her long-dead servant Myrto (*Bibl.* 166.109a39–64). Bowie suggests that Antonius draws on Petronius' *Satyricon* and its infernal scene in the inset poem, *Bellum Civile* (*Sat.* 119–24, lines 76–125). But it seems to me that a much closer model is the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*. There, Aeneas comes to Cumae and Lake Avernus, descends into the underworld and receives instruction from his father Anchises. Odysseus' trip to the underworld in *Odyssey* 11 is similar in that the hero is enlight-

¹⁷ Cf. Palmer Bonz 2000; Shea 2005.

¹⁸ Cf. Kussl 1991, 138–40.

¹⁹ Cf. Hubbard 2006; Torres Guerra 2007 discusses the same question but provides fewer parallels.

²⁰ Cf. Bowie 2007, 126–8.

²¹ Cf. Ephorus of Cyme (c.405–330 BC), *FGrH* 70 F 134; Strabo 5.4.5. Pace Bowie 2007, 124, there is nothing mysterious about Antonius' description of the Campanian population as *Κιμμέριοι*. On Cimmerians at Cumae see e.g. Rohde 1914³ (1876), 279 n. 2; Fusillo 1990a, 82–3 n. 8; S&W 123 n. 41.

tened by a dead person (the seer Tiresias), but what matters for our parallel is the Italian setting at Cumae. Bowie touches on the *Aeneid*, arguing that it can be seen as an intertext for Petronius and that ‘in that case’ we should also ask whether Antonius himself referred to Virgil.²² There can be no doubt that the *Aeneid* was an intertext for Petronius, but the question of Antonius’ knowledge of Virgil is not contingent on this. The situation in Petronius is in fact quite different: the protagonists are not humans, but gods or allegories (Dis and Fortuna); nobody enters the underworld, but Dis comes out of it; there is no prophetic knowledge in Dis’ instruction, but he passionately incites Fortuna to civil war. Antonius could still have known the *Satyrica*, but the more obvious model for our scene is Virgil (which might give us, incidentally, a second Aphrodisian author who used Virgil’s *Aeneid*, indicating a certain circulation of the work in this city). It is in line with this idea that the Virgilian *katabasis* seems to have enjoyed some fame in more than one place in the Greek world: an ‘Orphic’ hexameter poem about the underworld, transmitted on a papyrus of the second or third century AD (*P. Bon.* 4) is, in the judgement of H. Lloyd Jones and P. Parsons, indebted either to Virgil or to an unknown common source.²³ And since we do not have any hint at a common source, the latter possibility appears to be inferior. Further evidence for the reception of Virgil’s *katabasis* is provided by assorted Greek catalogues of the different Sibyls, preserved from late antiquity, which know the—otherwise not attested—name of Virgil’s Sibyl, Deiphobe, and firmly attribute it to our poet (*Βεργίλιος*).²⁴

Granted, with the exception of Erycius and other epigrammatists from the *Garland of Philip* all the examples referred to postdate Chariton. If I am right, Chariton would, after some small imitations and adaptations in Greek epigram, be the first known Greek author to take inspiration from a Latin poet on a larger scale. But this is not a good reason for doubt. There will always be one author to be the first and to set a precedent. And considering the close ties between

²² Cf. Bowie 2007, 124.

²³ Cf. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1978, 88.

²⁴ Cf. the scholiast on Pl. *Phdr.* 244b; the preface to the *Sibylline Oracles* (pp. 2–3, lines 45–6 Geffcken); the so called *Theosophia Tubingensis* 75 (p. 51, lines 623–5 Erbse).

Aphrodisias and Rome, Chariton was even particularly suited to leading the way. The next two sections back up this view. I specify the aforementioned ties a little more and work out specific scenarios in which Chariton could have received the *Aeneid*.

(ii) Rome and Aphrodisias

Chariton's home town, Aphrodisias, enjoyed a highly privileged relationship with Rome.²⁵ This relationship started with military allegiance to Rome and developed into a diplomatically expedient celebration of common symbols and traditions. The story relevant in the present context begins with the first Mithradatic War in which pro-Roman Aphrodisias actively opposed the Pontic king Mithradates. Appian reports that Sulla, at the time engaged in the early stages of his campaign against Mithradates, received an oracle urging him to make a dedication to the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias (which by the way constitutes the first literary record of Aphrodisias). It starts with these lines (*B Civ.* 1.97):

παίθεό μοι, Ῥωμαῖε. κράτος μέγα Κύπρις ἔδωκεν
Αἰνείου γενεῇ μεμελημένη.

Believe me, Roman: the caring Cypris has given great power to the kin of Aeneas.

The oracle establishes a link between Rome and Aphrodisias by evoking the common goddess Venus-Aphrodite ('Cypris' from Cyprus, the island of her birth), precisely in her role as mother of Aeneas and ancestress of the Roman people. This symbolic language revolving around Aphrodite was adopted by Sulla's successors in power and used in the political exchange between the two cities for the centuries to come.²⁶ Particularly significant for the further development was the emphasis which Caesar and the Julio-Claudian family placed on their descent, via Aeneas' son Iulus, from Venus-Aphrodite. Caesar is known to have sent a golden Eros to the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias and to have granted some unspecified

²⁵ Cf. above, ch. 2, 24–5.

²⁶ Cf. Schilling's (1954, 272–346) chapter on 'Vénus et les grands conquérants'.

rights to her sanctuary. A culmination of this diplomacy under the sign of Aphrodite was finally the construction of the so called Sebasteion, the temple of the imperial cult.²⁷ This complex, discovered only in 1979, was started under Tiberius and finished under Nero. Both its inscriptions and its sculptural programme refer to the Trojan myth of Rome. A dedicatory inscription, perhaps from the north portico, reads: 'To Aphrodite, the Emperor-gods, the people' (*Ἀφροδίτῃ, θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς, τῷ δήμῳ*).²⁸ Two further inscriptions on marble statue bases found nearby confirm that Aphrodite was indeed worshipped as mother of Aeneas and ancestress of Rome. The first inscription reads: 'Aphrodite, foremother of the Emperor-gods' (*Ἀφροδίτην Προμήτορα θεῶν Σεβαστῶν*). Of the second, only the names of Aeneas and Anchises are left: *Αἰνῆ[αν?]... Ἀνχίσ[ου?]*.²⁹ Regarding the artistic decoration, the reliefs of the Sebasteion are largely laid out on the two upper storeys of the three-storeyed portico buildings. On one side, we see relief panels showing emperors and gods above, Greek mythology below. On the other side there are allegories above and a series of peoples (*ἔθνη*) below. The whole sculptural programme celebrates the rule of the Julio-Claudian family over the world. The loose thematic relation between the upper and the lower storey gains a notable vertical perspective exactly where the panels showing Greek mythology turn to the Trojan myth of Rome.³⁰ Above reliefs referring to Aphrodite with baby Eros,³¹ Aeneas, and Rome (alluded to by Romulus and Remus), we find the weighty figures of Augustus, Claudius, and Agrippina, as well as a personified 'Victory of the Emperors' (*Νίκη Σεβαστῶν*) flanked by Nero and Claudius.

²⁷ Cf. on the imperial cult at Aphrodisias e.g. Reynolds 1996; generally in Asia Minor Price 1984.

²⁸ Cf. Reynolds 1981, 318–19; *SEG* 31 (1981), no. 914; for some reason this inscription is missing from *IAph2007*. However, a very similar one, referring specifically to the emperor Claudius, can be found on the south portico (*IAph2007* 9.25; Reynolds 1981, 317–18; *SEG* 31 [1981], no. 913).

²⁹ Cf. *IAph2007* 9.34 and 35; Reynolds 1986, 111–12; *SEG* 36 (1986), nos. 968–9. Cf. Aphrodite as 'foremother of the kin of the Emperors' (*προμήτωρ τοῦ γένους τῶν Σεβαστῶν*) in an inscription from the baths (*IAph2007* 5.6), on which e.g. Robert 1966, 416–17; Reynolds 1986, 111.

³⁰ Cf. Smith 1987, 132; Smith 1990, 97–100.

³¹ Cf. above, ch. 3, 104–5.

Back to Chariton and Virgil, the point that I wish to argue is simple: the common concern of Rome and Aphrodisias with Venus-Aphrodite as ancestress of the Roman people makes Virgil's *Aeneid*, which tells the story of the Trojan origins of Rome, a privileged text. While I do not believe that Chariton adapted the *Aeneid* because of its imperial message, we should expect that an Aphrodisian author, who probably lived during the construction of the Sebasteion, was susceptible to the national epic of the Roman allies that celebrated the goddess in the very aspect in which she presided over his city.

(iii) Chariton's Access to the *Aeneid*

In the following I suggest three different scenarios to show how Chariton could have got to know Virgil's *Aeneid*. The first two operate with the idea that a *text* of the *Aeneid* made its way from Rome to Aphrodisias. As we know of at least two groups of Aphrodisians, sculptors and politicians, who had frequent business with Rome, I do not see a general problem with an exchange of literary texts between the two cities. Texts follow people, and qua Aphrodisians they were likely to have some interest in the *Aeneid*. In chapter two, I conjectured that Chariton's employer, Athenagoras, was an ambassador to Rome. This is speculative, of course, but the general diplomatic ties between Aphrodisias and Rome, which implied a number of embassies,³² could easily have led to the exchange of literary texts in the process. In such way, Virgil's *Aeneid* would have become known at Aphrodisias, just as Chariton's NAC in Nero's Rome, where it arguably became the butt of Persius' scorn. My third scenario, however, works without a written text, or rather with an adaptation of a literary text in the form of a libretto. I consider the performance of a Dido and Aeneas pantomime at Rome or Aphrodisias. The possibility that Chariton's reception of the *Aeneid* was limited to the love story of Dido and Aeneas is inherent in the first two scenarios, but the only reasonable assumption in the

³² Cf. above, ch. 2, 52 and 54; Chaniotis 2004, 378–86 presents the well-documented individual case of one notable Hermogenes (1st cent. BC).

third. Such a partial reception does not detract from the parallels which I have put forward, since practically all of them refer to the story of Dido and Aeneas. The only element with a wider scope is the motif of Rumour, used throughout the *Aeneid*. But the most impressive and at the same time most frequent employment of Rumour occurs precisely in *Aeneid* 4. There we have the long ecphrasis of *Fama*, two further appearances of *Fama* as a messenger (of Aeneas' departure and of Dido's death respectively), and the conflict between love and *fama* in the meaning of 'reputation'. Both of Chariton's textual parallels which seem to pick up on the Virgilian *Fama* relate to *Aeneid* 4.

a) *The Original Latin Text*

I can be brief on the scenario in which Chariton read the *Aeneid* in Latin. Not because this would be an absurd idea, but because it is plain enough to follow. If indeed Athenagoras was an ambassador to Rome, the odds are that his secretary, Chariton, accompanied him at some point and spent time in Latin-speaking Italy. More generally, one might expect that the adherence of Aphrodisias to Rome stirred some interest in Latin among the local elites.³³ That Chariton was no stranger to Latin could be suggested by the phrase 'Fortune of the place' (4.4.4: *Τύχη τοῦ τόπου*), with which Mithridates warns Chaereas against rushing off to Miletus. As Plepelits has pointed out, this seems to be calqued on the Latin phrase 'spirit of the place' (*genius loci*).³⁴ Such a loan translation could of course have been in general use and does not necessarily imply that Chariton as an individual knew Latin. All told, however, this remains a possibility of some likelihood.

b) *A Greek Translation*

In chapter two I established the mid-first century AD as a likely date of composition for *NAC*. We happen to know of a Greek translation of Virgil in harmony with this date. Seneca talks in two passages of

³³ For some borrowings from Latin in Aphrodisian inscriptions cf. Chaniotis 2003a, 250–1 with n. 4. The small number of Latin inscriptions found so far date to the 3rd to 5th centuries AD, cf. *IAPH*2007 1.201; 2.524; 11.63.

³⁴ Cf. Plepelits 1976, 179 n. 115; approvingly Ruiz Montero 1994a, 1034.

his *Consolation to Polybius* (AD 43–4) about prose translations of Homer and Virgil completed by his addressee, the freedman Polybius, secretary for patronage of the emperor Claudius (*Dial.* 11.8.2 and 11.11.5):³⁵

Homerus et Vergilius . . . quos pluribus notos esse voluisti quam scripserant. Homer and Virgil . . . whom you wished to become known to a wider circle than that for which they wrote.

Agedum illa quae multo ingenii tui labore celebrata sunt in manus sume utriuslibet auctoris carmina, quae tu ita resolvisti ut, quamvis structura illorum recesserit, permaneat tamen gratia (sic enim illa ex alia lingua in aliam transtulisti ut, quod difficillimum erat, omnes virtutes in alienam te orationem secutae sint).

Turn, now, to those poems which the efforts of your genius have made famous and which you have turned into prose with such skill, though their form has disappeared, they, nevertheless, retain all their charm (for you have so performed the most difficult task of transferring them from one language to another that all their merits have followed you into the foreign speech).

Seneca does not say *which* Virgilian works Polybius translated, but the fact that he is pairing Virgil with Homer suggests that he thinks of the *Aeneid*. Nor is it clear whether Polybius made full or partial translations. If he only translated parts of the *Aeneid*, however, the Dido and Aeneas episode was most probably among those parts. According to Suetonius' biography of Virgil, the author's own 'pre-release' of parts of the *Aeneid* in a recital for Augustus and Octavia comprised books two, four, and six (*Vit. Verg.* 32)—a hint that Virgil himself considered his love story to be one of his finest achievements. His reading audience certainly acceded. In his apologetic letter to Augustus, Ovid famously attests that the story of Dido and Aeneas was the most popular part of the *Aeneid*: 'And yet the blessed author of your *Aeneid* brought his 'arms and the man' to a Tyrian couch, and no part of the whole work is more read than that union of illicit love' (*Tr.* 2.533–6: *et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor | contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros, | nec legitur pars ulla magis de corpore toto, |*

³⁵ Cf. Rochette 1997, 271; on Polybius e.g. Millar 1977, 75–6; Suet. *Claud.* 28; for his status as a freedman and a potential allusion by Chariton to influential freedmen around the emperor cf. above, ch. 2, 39–40.

quam non legitimo foedere iunctus amor). Later examples of the celebrity of this episode in the Greek world include Lucian's reference to a Dido and Aeneas pantomime, discussed below, as well as an (undated) epigram in the Palatine Anthology which rejects Virgil's portrayal of Dido (*Anth. Pal.* 16.151) and claims that the two apparent lovers have in actual fact never met.³⁶ A final consideration relates to the particular form of Polybius' translation: his choice of prose³⁷ rather than verse seems particularly suited to Chariton's novelistic reception. Dido and Aeneas in Greek prose must have looked like another protoromance, similar, for instance, to Xenophon's *Pantheia* and *Abradatas*;³⁸ and probably the step from here to an ideal novel was smaller than from a Latin hexameter poem.

c) *Pantomime*

A third possible mode of reception is via the theatre. At the time of Virgil and Chariton, many a piece of popular reading, even if not originally written for the theatre, was adapted for the stage. We know that Virgil's *Eclogues* were sung in the theatre, although the exact nature of the performance remains unclear (Suet. *Vita Verg.* 26; cf. Servius on *Ed.* 6.11). Tacitus, on Virgil's fame, attests to the success of a staging of Virgil's verse without specifying the work (*Dial.* 13.2). More interesting in our context are adaptations which can be identified as pantomimes, expressive performances by a solo dancer to music and the recital of a libretto by background singers. The art of the pantomime originated in Greece and was introduced in a refined form at Rome in 22 BC by the Cilician Pylades and the Alexandrian Bathyllus.³⁹ From then on, pantomime was, alongside its comic counterpart, mime, the best-loved form of Greek and Latin dramatic performance until the end of pagan antiquity. A prominent testimony to contemporaneous Roman literature made into pantomime is Ovid's *Tristia* in which Ovid twice refers to the fact that his poems were danced (2.519 and 5.7.25–8). As far as

³⁶ Cf. Rochette 1997, 272–3.

³⁷ Cf. on the meaning of Seneca's words *resolvere* and *structura* in this context Kurth 1994, 140–2.

³⁸ Cf. above, ch. 4, 132.

³⁹ For a recent survey of ancient pantomime cf. Lada-Richards 2007 (with further literature).

the *Aeneid* is concerned, Suetonius reports that Nero planned on dancing the role of Turnus (*Ner.* 54). And the eminently dramatic story of Dido and Aeneas, aptly referred to as *Didotragödie* by Antonie Wlosok,⁴⁰ became an evergreen of the ancient theatre. As late as the fifth century AD, Macrobius refers to the continuous success of Virgil's Dido and Aeneas over the centuries and adds that 'actors never cease to celebrate the story with gesture and in song' (*Sat.* 5.17.5: ... *histrionum perpetuis et gestibus et cantibus celebretur*).

The testimonies given so far refer to Latin stagings. With these, the language issue would be the same as in *a*) above and the emerging scenario somewhat precarious: if Chariton knew enough Latin and if he ever went to Rome (where else in the Roman world would he have gone?), he *could* have been inspired by a performance of a Latin Dido and Aeneas pantomime. But perhaps he did not have to travel at all to attend such a performance. He could have seen a Greek *Didotragödie* in his home town Aphrodisias. The clue to this idea comes from Lucian's dialogue on pantomime, *De saltatione*. In sections 37–61, Lucian provides a catalogue of mythological subjects meant for the education and training of dancers. When he reaches the end of his account of Trojan myths he sums up (46):

καὶ μεμνήσθαι δὲ τούτων δεῖ μάλιστα, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς εὐθὺς ἄχρι τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόστοις γεγενημένων καὶ τῆς Αἰνείου πλάνης καὶ Διδόους ἔρωτος.

These themes must be kept in mind above all others, from the time of the rape [the abduction of Helen] straight through to what happened in the 'Home-farings', with the wanderings of Aeneas and the love of Dido.

As far as we know, the love story of Dido and Aeneas is a Virgilian invention. Before the *Aeneid*, only narratives about *either* Dido *or* Aeneas are recognizable (the epigram from the Palatine Anthology, referred to above, seems to confirm this by criticizing Virgil for bringing our protagonists together). To all appearances, then, Lucian himself depends—directly or indirectly—on the *Aeneid*. And his recommendation of Dido and Aeneas for dancers implies that there were, in the second century AD, Greek pantomimes based on Virgil's

⁴⁰ Cf. Wlosok 1976; a concise survey of dramatic elements in Virgil's Dido and Aeneas episode is given by Horsfall 2007.

Didotragödie.⁴¹ Against this backdrop, the idea of a performance of such a play at Aphrodisias in the first century AD is at least worth considering. We have all the elements required for this scenario. Parts of the theatre of Aphrodisias may still have been under construction when Chariton was writing *NAC*—the stone auditorium is Julio-Claudian, dedicated not before AD 41. But the stage building was probably in use, as its dedication can be dated to 28 BC.⁴² More than that, John Jory has drawn attention to pantomime masks on the frieze of the Sebasteion.⁴³ Jory suggests that the Aphrodisians imported the Roman form of pantomime very early in the context of the imperial cult. The import of a ‘Roman’ Dido and Aeneas pantomime in this context would not be very surprising. In any case we may consider whether Chariton’s operatic flair, described by Bryan Reardon as ‘melodrama... with its coloratura arias from Callirhoe, its blood-and-thunder Verdi-esque passions’,⁴⁴ was to some extent inspired by such early pantomimes in the theatre of Aphrodisias.

None of these three scenarios requires an undue stretch of the imagination (and in fact they need not be mutually exclusive). However, put on the spot I would choose *b*), the Greek translation. Chariton might well have read Latin, but there is not much evidence for this. The Dido and Aeneas pantomime demands a libretto which would at least in parts have been similar to Virgil’s text—otherwise the parallel passages in *NAC* and the *Aeneid* would be hard to explain. Such a libretto constitutes an additional unknown in our equation and does not bring something essential to it. The idea of a Greek *Aeneid*, by contrast, not only provides a fairly well-defined model in Greek; its prose form would have made it a particularly close counterpart to Chariton’s writing.

Who knows, perhaps there was indeed a special Tuesday afternoon in July when Chariton read his Virgil. Perhaps he wanted to out-

⁴¹ Cf. Wüst 1949, 849, with a reference to Virgil as the model.

⁴² Cf. Reynolds 1991.

⁴³ Cf. Jory 2001 and 2002. On the (later) epigraphic evidence for pantomimes and mimes at Aphrodisias cf. Roueché 1993. Little is known, however, about the subjects of the plays.

⁴⁴ Reardon 1996, 334.

romance the gloomy Roman and produce something more wholesome. Something without two voices. Times in a rising provincial centre were not so bad after all. I do not claim that the *Aeneid* explains the character and formation of Chariton's text. It could account, however, in a fairly precise way for the elusive impulse that led the first writer of an ideal novel to invent his new form.

4. GREECE, ROME, OR ROMANCE?

Virgil's *Aeneid* is, of course, a highly political text and if indeed Chariton took inspiration from it the question arises if and how the imperial message of the Roman national epic would have been received by him. This might be thought particularly relevant considering that a number of political interpretations of *NAC* have emerged over the past years. In this final section, I first outline the main positions taken in this discussion and point out how Chariton's use of the *Aeneid* could possibly bear on each of them. In my subsequent own reading, however, I view Chariton's profound transformation of his model as argument for the essentially *literary* interest of *NAC* and against political over-interpretation.

(i) For Greece

Greek literature in the Roman Empire is often deemed to imply some form of concern about Roman rule, even when political subjects do not come to the fore or do not surface at all. In search for such deeper political meaning, the ideal novels in general and Chariton in particular have been read as expressions of Greek cultural superiority, or even as veiled protest against Rome. To give just some recent examples: Simon Swain and Sophie Lalanne argue that the ideal novel represents a 'world without Rome', in which Greek civic elites stage their perpetuation through the mirror of exclusively Greek marriages. Jean Alvares talks about a wish-fantasy in *NAC*, in which the cultural superiority of the Greeks could negotiate real political freedom with Rome. Katherine Haynes identifies the heroines of the

ideal novels with Greece, and their integrity with a celebration of the primacy and dignity of the 'conquered territory'. Steven Smith believes that the discourse about Athens in *NAC* evokes notions of tyranny and political freedom which particularly appealed to Greek subjects of the Roman empire.⁴⁵ All of these authors take accommodationist tendencies into account and none of them regards *NAC* flatly as a political manifesto *in tyrannos*. They all, however, take it for granted that Roman rule was a real *problem* to Chariton which needed to be faced in one way or another.

The historical picture of relations between Rome and Aphrodisias is not in favour of these views, but we can choose to believe that Chariton did not join the Aphrodisians in their devotion to Rome. One might speculate that it was precisely the leaning of his city towards Rome which led Chariton to political doubt and dispute, but this would amount to wilfully positing non-X because X is suggested by the material evidence. Moreover, Chariton's reception of the *Aeneid* seems to conflict with the phrase 'a world without Rome'. The relevance of this notion to Chariton is very unlikely anyway since there was hardly any reason for the author to introduce Rome into his historical novel(s), set in the fourth century BC. At a stretch, however, Chariton's focus on and transformation of the *Aeneid* 4 could perhaps be read as an implied correction of the Roman imperial project: it might be said that he regarded Dido, sacrificed by Virgil for the larger idea of the Roman empire, (among other things) as a political figure and vindicated her through a successful *Nachleben* in Callirhoe (who tends to be allegorized into an anti-Roman protest figure in the readings referred to above). But this not only seems far-fetched to me; worse, it requires that we believe in a political motive in the first place. Clearly Chariton could have adapted the Dido figure in the same way for purely literary reasons.

(ii) For Rome

In very much the opposite way, another reading suggests that *NAC* is a disguised celebration of Rome. This idea was first proposed by

⁴⁵ Cf. Swain 1996, 101–31, esp. 109 and 130; Lalanne 2006; Alvares 2001–2; id. 2007, 10–15; Haynes 2003, esp. 161–2; Smith 2007.

Marcelle Laplace who placed allusions to the Trojan myth in *NAC* in the context of an affirmative parable about the rise of the Roman Empire.⁴⁶ In this parable, Callirhoe represents Aphrodite; her son, left behind in the East, alludes to the Trojan Aeneas. Like Aeneas, Callirhoe's son, it is hoped, will come one day to the West and build a glorious future. It is somewhat perplexing to see that Laplace arrived at this view without considering either Cataudella's article or the—then largely unknown—archaeological evidence from Aphrodisias. Nonetheless I find it hard to follow her reasoning which, except for some obvious analogies between Helen and Callirhoe, rests on extremely speculative and relentlessly shifting similes and allegories. Laplace holds, for example, that the face-off between Dionysius and Mithridates in court is modelled on the Iliadic single combat between Menelaus and Paris, with Dionysius corresponding to Menelaus and Mithridates to Paris; but as soon as Chaereas enters the stage, the roles would be distributed anew: Mithridates drops out of account, Chaereas becomes Menelaus, Dionysius Paris.⁴⁷ The emerging scheme of Trojan references is protean, and the scholarly value of such slippery interpretative frames seems to me doubtful.

Catherine Connors has revived the pro-Rome argument and taken account of the archaeological findings at Aphrodisias, which serve as a general background to her argument.⁴⁸ Connors' hypothesis is that Chariton allegorically reinforces the self-representation of Augustus as a legitimate ruler. She develops Naber's point that Callirhoe's son stands for the historical tyrant Dionysius I of Sicily⁴⁹ by suggesting that Chariton implied a positive political role for Dionysius I in order to justify the autocratic rule of Augustus. Augustus' interests in Sicily would be alluded to by the motif of piracy, evoking Augustus' successful sea battles against Pompeius in the waters around Sicily. Now, the idea of Dionysius as a positive model for Augustus is not in itself implausible, and some additional aspects, not considered by Connors, could endorse this. While a more anecdotal tradition, as in Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (5.57–63), painted Dionysius as an archetypal despot, a strain of earlier Greek historiography, starting with Dionysius' court historiographer Philistus of Syracuse, cele-

⁴⁶ Laplace 1980, 83–125.

⁴⁷ Cf. Laplace 1980, 98.

⁴⁸ Cf. Connors 2002.

⁴⁹ Cf. above, ch. 2, 45–6.

brated him as an efficient leader. Plutarch calls Philistus ‘the greatest lover of the tyrants’ (*Dion* 36.3: φιλοτυραννότατος), and this tendency is confirmed by his scant fragments dealing with Dionysius (*FGrH* 556 F 57 and 58). Cicero no doubt told his anecdote about Dionysius suspending the famous sword over the neck of Damocles as a warning against the autocracy of Caesar.⁵⁰ Chariton could similarly have identified Augustus with Dionysius, but with a positive twist on the basis of Philistus’ account. Chariton’s knowledge of Philistus’ *History of Sicily* (which also included an extensive account of the Sicilian expedition), is in itself likely and all the more probable considering that Theon’s *Progymnasmata* recommends Philistus for exercises in narrative.⁵¹ Add to this Marta Sordi’s idea that Augustus, too, was a reader of Philistus and at least in one respect—his self-representation as an avenger—cast himself in the role of Dionysius.⁵² And to mention a final curious detail: Suetonius reports that Augustus called his study and place of retirement ‘Syracuse’ (*Aug.* 72):

si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas et technyphion vocabat.

If he ever planned to do anything in private or without interruption, he had a special place on a height (or: at the top [of his house on the Palatine]), which he called ‘Syracuse’ and ‘little workshop’.

The reason for this name has eluded scholars. Archaeologists have identified a room in the house of Augustus on the Palatine with this study, but apart from the fact that this identification is far from certain, it does not give us any clue to ‘Syracuse’. However, even if the second name given to the study, *technyphion* (‘little workshop’), points to the Syracusan technician Archimedes rather than Dionysius I, Suetonius’s passage surely suggests that Sicily and Syracuse had a certain significance for Augustus.

As we have seen, Augustus and Augustan politics *could* be a key to some details in *NAC*. The question is: would this key, as imagined by Connors, have been relevant to Chariton and his readers? I do not think so. For one thing, I remain sceptical about the identification of

⁵⁰ Cf. e.g. Strasburger 1990, esp. 60–2; Jaeger 2002, 56–61.

⁵¹ Cf. above, ch. 5, 204.

⁵² Cf. Sordi 1984.

Callirhoe's (nameless) child with Dionysius I. It is raised by *a* Dionysius, but at the same time its resemblance to his biological father Chaereas is stressed (for instance at 2.11.2 and 3.8.8). What connection would there be between the Sicilian tyrant and Miletus? And should the 'son' of Dionysius not be Dionysius II rather than Dionysius I?⁵³ Perhaps more importantly, the twofold relay of allegories from Callirhoe's son to Dionysius I, and then in turn from Dionysius I to Augustus does not inspire confidence. Nor does the audacious conclusion drawn from the presence of pirates in *NAC* about the idea of Augustus in the author's mind. What is more, Connors seems to take it for granted that Chariton wrote well after Augustus, around the middle of the first century AD. In this scenario, I see no point in the exaltation of Augustus rather than a contemporaneous emperor. The mere remembrance of a defining figure in building the Roman empire does not seem to me a strong motive for writing a political allegory on it (if indeed that is what *NAC* is) decades later.

Finally, Douglas Edwards's reading of *NAC* as a symbolic discourse on power should not be forgotten in this context.⁵⁴ The praise of the common goddess Aphrodite-Venus at the heart of this discourse is as much Aphrodisian as it is Roman, but if not an outright celebration of Rome, it is certainly a form of flirting with pro-Roman sentiment. In my view this is the most likely of the 'Roman' readings discussed here since it accounts for the historical evidence and the extraordinary role of Aphrodite in *NAC*. On the other hand, the actual text of *NAC*—in which Rome, let alone a link between Rome and the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias, is not of any visible concern—provides no clue to this interpretation, and whether the pragmatic context suggested by Edwards was in fact relevant to Chariton in composing his work is ultimately an unanswerable question.

If we nonetheless attempt to position Chariton's reception of the *Aeneid* within the pro-Rome argument, we might consider a general agreement between Chariton and Virgil's imperial message, simply because he took extensive inspiration from the Roman epic and perhaps (but this is highly speculative) implied some role for a redeeming baby Aeneas in *NAC*. We could also think of the signifi-

⁵³ Cf. for simpler accounts of the name Dionysius above, ch. 2, 44–6.

⁵⁴ Cf. above, ch. 2, 27–8.

cance of Sicily in the *Aeneid* as the starting point of the plot in book one and as the setting of the funeral games for Anchises in book five. It is from here that Aeneas sets out to complete his mission of founding the Roman empire. Rivalling the allegorical inclination of Laplace and Connors, we could say that the setting of NAC in Sicily was meant to remind readers of the boon of Aeneas' journey. The integration of the Virgilian intertext in Edwards's scheme is comparatively easy: it would increase the symbolic efficiency and scope of the Aphrodisian discourse of power, something which could be granted in a subtle form even if we reject a larger and more specific political message.

(iii) For Romance

The options (i) for Rome and (ii) for Greece conflict with each other. The mere fact of a reception of the *Aeneid* in Chariton does not contribute anything to resolve this conflict. All depends on earlier and larger interpretative choices. Once we have decided to make Chariton's adaptation of the *Aeneid* political, this decision caters to any such reading. The problem seems to lie with the political approach itself, and in my view the nature of Chariton's reception of the *Aeneid*—the only one of his models which is clearly relevant to the issue of Roman rule—discourages political readings altogether.

First, we should take into consideration the fact that Chariton focuses on an exceptional part of the *Aeneid*, the love story of Dido and Aeneas. This already indicates that Chariton was interested in a love story in its own right rather than a political epic. Second, Chariton picks out particularly dramatic and sentimental moments from the Dido and Aeneas story: Dido's death, her wish for a marriage and a baby, the ecphrasis of *Fama*. Chariton does *not* consider any political aspects of *Aeneid* 4 such as Aeneas' continuation of his mission. Finally, Chariton changes the register of the borrowed elements and works them from a tragic source text into a romantic target text. Dido ends up unhappy and kills herself. Calirhoe dies a *Scheintod*, and though she often thinks about suicide, she ends up happy. In the *Aeneid*, *fama* collides with *amor*, and perhaps also with the (second) voice of the author. In Chariton,

Rumour unambiguously directs an erotic narrative. All this strongly suggests that Chariton's interest in Virgil was exclusively artistic and psychological. Judging from his use of Virgil, then, a dedicated political discourse was never on his agenda. I am not saying that Chariton in composing *NAC* cannot have been inspired, among other things, by recent political affairs. In this and earlier chapters of this book I have talked about, for instance, a certain play with Roman Venus, various stimuli from the Roman court, and a historical anti-Athenian sentiment. But this does not give the novel a political meaning, let alone message, in any robust and helpful sense. To postulate this, I think, it would be necessary either to argue plausibly that Chariton was led by political motives or, failing that, that readers of the time, generally or specifically in Chariton's case, expected a love story to be of political significance. Unless this is established, I prefer to think that the 'ideal' way of dealing with politics is no different from its dealing with history and literary history, transforming them into romance and enjoying them happily ever after.

Conclusion

The basic premises of my argument are a) there is no convincing evidence for ideal novels before Chariton; b) the historical milieu of Aphrodisias seems to have favoured the rise of this new form of writing; and c) we can find a ‘poetics of invention’ in Chariton’s *Narratives about Callirhoe*. I conclude from these premises that Chariton was nothing short of the inventor of the ideal novel. Not in the sense that he already had an idea of the future genre and its various directions, but in the sense that he provided the literary model on which this genre was based. It follows from this conclusion that the origin of the Greek love novel lies in an individual act of literary creativity. The first ideal novel was written as a (successful) experiment at a specific time, in a specific place, by a specific author. Some basic literary-historical factors may be named, which helped this experiment on its way: the ‘globalization’ of the Mediterranean world; the rise of freely invented, non-mythological plots as seen in New Comedy; the emergence of prose fiction as seen in Aristides’ *Milesiaca*; the general increase in prose in imperial literature; the *pax Augusta*; the milieu of Aphrodisias with its cult of Aphrodite. The rest is down to Chariton: his familiarity with prose writing as the secretary to a rhetor; his obvious literary ambitions; his idealizing tendency; his competition with a number of canonical authors—Homer, Thucydides, Aristides, Virgil, to name only those with whom I have dealt to some extent.

I have suggested a new solution to the age-old problem of the origin of the Greek love novel. However, my argument has a number of further implications and consequences. First for our assessment of Chariton himself. In the process of my investigation, I have deter-

mined some fundamental data about the author and his work: the presumable title of his fully extant novel, *Narratives about Callirhoe*; its possible date of composition, between 19 BC and AD 62; Chariton's authorship of two further novels, *Metiochus and Parthenope* and *Chione*. In addition, I have analysed a number of characteristics of Chariton's poetics which, however we relate them to my main thesis, raise awareness of the genuinely literary issues at stake in *NAC*. Yet my discussion also bears on a larger field beyond Chariton. Leaving a number of minor observations out of account, three particularly interesting examples may demonstrate this. First, granted that there were no ideal novels before Chariton, the question of the relation between the 'ideal' and the 'realistic' novel, often tied to the question of Petronius' parody of a long-established genre of the ideal novel, needs to be reconsidered or answered in more specific terms than is usually the case. Second, Chariton's adaptation of Virgil's *Aeneid* adds to our knowledge of the interrelations between Greek and Latin literature and invites a revision of cultural stereotypes concerning 'Greekness' and 'Romanness' in the early imperial period. The most significant consequence of my result, however, is probably, third, that it changes our idea of the ideal novel itself. This idea is often informed by the notion of an abstract and anonymous genre without a clear beginning, and with its individual representatives being realizations of a more or less uniform matrix. The very vagueness of this idea encourages grand narratives about the literary and cultural rationale of the ideal novel. In my scheme, the genre becomes a much more historical and diversified concept. There is no mystery about its origin since the founding text (or one of three similar founding texts) is extant. We can account for the circumstances of its invention and for its initial literary nature. And its historical development, not studied here in any detail, can be explained in equally concrete terms. Chariton's model inspires further novelists to similar works: a second author uses the original model, a third author already has two models at his disposal, and so on. The extant examples of ideal novels suggest that all of Chariton's successors use considerable originality to give their adaptations a distinctive character. The 'genre' of the ideal novel, then, comes into being through a process of individual literary competition. This idea of the genre

discourages grand narratives about *the* ideal novel and favours 'small' narratives about individual texts, their particular poetics, and their relation to specific discourses and traditions. If we take the idea of a personal inventor of the ideal novel seriously, the individual works in question no longer lend themselves to studies which take their start from a notion of generic uniformity.

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